NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 103

AN INSCRIBED CHINESE INGOT OF THE XII CENTURY A.D.

BY

NAI CHI CHANG

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
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39. Edward T. Newell. Alexander Hoards—IV. Olympia. 1929. 31 pp. 9 pls. $1.50.

Lw.r.i.

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INSCRIBED FIFTY TAEL INGOT

(Reduced)

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RUDISILL AND SMITH COMPANY, LANCASTER, PA., U. S. A.

AN INSCRIBED CHINESE INGOT OF THE XII CENTURY A.D.

By Nai Chi Chang

An interesting account of Sycee silver written by Col. Phares O. Sigler appeared in April 1943 as Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 99. It provides an informing introduction to this type of Chinese currency and will doubtless prove useful to any student of the money of China who will consult its pages. Among the illustrated specimens chosen as a representative selection from the collection of the Museum of the American Numismatic Society and that of the author, there is one whose importance is not emphasized as fully as it deserves to be, and that piece is the subject of this note. It is illustrated on Plate IV (No. 8) of the earlier monograph and repeated here. This ingot was acquired by the late John Reilly, probably during one of his visits to China, and is part of the collection presented to the Museum of the American Numismatic Society in 1938 by his daughter, Mrs. Eric N. Baynes.

China's First Recorded Issue of Silver Currency

Official history records that China's first use of silver as a part of her medium of exchange goes back

to the Han dynasty (206 B.C. to 219 A.D.). According to the *Shih Huo Chih* of the Economic Section of the Ch'ien Han Shu (History of the former Han dynasty), three white metal (silver) pieces were issued at the beginning of Wu Ti's reign (140 B.C. to 84 B.C.). Each of these three pieces is specified in name, weight, design and value in cash. The first piece is named *Pei Chai*. It is round in shape, weighs eight liang, is patterned in dragon form or design, and is worth three thousand, two hundred (3,200) cash. The record failed to mention the name of the second piece, which is square in shape and is said to be proportionately reduced in weight as compared with the first one. It bears a horse design and is valued at five hundred (500) cash. The third again is smaller in size and lighter in weight; oval is the shape, t'ao-t'un is the pattern, and three hundred (300) cash is the equivalent value.

The Actual Weight of the First Three Silver Pieces

The commentary of the *Shih Ho Chih*, by Yuan Shih Ku, mistakenly puts the difference of weight between these three pieces at two liang each—namely, eight liang, six liang and four liang, respectively, but a simple computation of their proportions in relation to their cash values, will show their actual relative weights. Since the first piece, worth 3,200 cash, weighs 8 liang, the second, representing 500 cash in value, should weigh one and one-quarter (1¼) liang.

Similarly, the third piece, valued at 300 cash, should certainly weigh three-quarters (¾) of a liang. None of these three specimens is known to be in existence today.

The Second Recorded Silver Issue

About 9 B.C. of the same (Han) dynasty, the usurper, Wang Mang, issued a new silver currency. This was in ingots made of two different qualities of silver. Each ingot weighed eight liang and was designated as one liu. Those minted with better and purer silver had a special name, *Chu T'i*, because the silver was produced in the district of Chu T'i in Ssechuan province. They were valued at one thousand, five hundred eighty (1,580) cash. The other type was made of inferior silver and valued at only one thousand (1,000) cash.

China Used Silver Continuously as a Basic Currency for Centuries

China used silver continuously as a basic currency for many centuries and not until 1933 was the tael system and the official use of silver bullion abolished. The unit of silver currency is always based on weight —the liang (Chinese ounce), which varies slightly according to period and locality. To the modern international commercial world, liang is better known as tael. (See Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 99, pp. 6 ff.).

Struck Monetary System Began in the Eighteenth Century

China entered upon a new phase of her coinage after Tibet first adopted struck coins in the eighteenth century. It was not until the nineteenth century that the conventional hole on Chinese coins began to disappear, the perforated coins having been replaced by struck money which was minted in several provinces. But this did not interfere at all with her basic currency, the silver ingot.

The derivation of the English word Sycee for silver ingot has, of course, various explanations. The proper Chinese term is *Yuan Pao* (premier treasure). It originated with the wording on the coin and then was applied to the silver ingot as a special name at the beginning of the Yuan dynasty (1277 to 1367 A.D.). Another literal term for silver ingot is *Ting*, which appears very often on the silver ingot itself, either stamped or incised.

The piece we have under present consideration bears the designation "Ting." A closely similar piece (see Plate) weighing 64½ oz. troy does not bear an inscription. The other fifty-tael pieces listed in monograph No. 99 have inscriptions impressed or stamped upon them. This piece is unusual in that the inscription is incised. The eighteen characters in two columns are cut as though with a chisel. The translation of the characters beginning at the upper right is as follows:

(1) Huai (2) An	The combination of characters 1 and 2 is the proper name designating the Chun (see character 3) or district.
(3) Chün	The political division or district.
(4) Chin (5) T'ang	The combination of characters 4 and 5 is the second proper name designating a specific Hsien (see character 6).
(6) Hsien	Subdivision or "district," a term still used in China.
(7) Mien	Exempt.
(8) Fu	Labor (corvee).
(9) Ch'ien	Money.

Beginning at the upper left, the characters are:

(10) Che	For calculating
(11) Na	Payments
(12) Yin	Silver
(13) Mei	Each
(14) Ting	Ingot
(15) Chung	Weighs
(16) Wu	Five
(17) Shih	Ten. Combination of five and ten is fifty.
(18) Liang	Ounces or units of weight.

The inscription thus reads: "Corvee exemption money of Chin-t'ang Hsien (district), Huai-an Chün (political division). For calculating payments each silver ingot (ting) weighs 50 ounces."

We have given us, therefore, an indication of the place in which this ting originated—the district of Chin-t'ang, in the section or political division of Huai-an, and we know that this place was located in Ssechuan province. The characters Mien Fu Ch'ien, which have been translated "Corvee exemption money," indicate that the ingot was prepared in this form for sending to the treasury of the Central Government, and that it was the payment of a specific tax.

Fortunately for our purposes, the use of these two place names enables us to draw further deductions from this inscription. The History of the Sung Dynasty (Sung Shih)* records that this particular Chün (i.e., Huai An) was established in the year 967 A.D. and the district (Hsien) Chin T'ang was placed under its administration. This provides us with a date before which the ingot could not have been made—a *terminus a quo.* Another history—that of the Yuan Dynasty (Yuan Shih—Chap. 60, p. 11b) establishes that the name "Huai An Chun" was changed to "Huai An Chou" at the beginning of Yuan, and that in the twentieth year of Chih Yuan (1283 A.D.), Huai An Chou was annexed to Chin T'ang and put under the control of Chen Tu. It is

* Entry 5 under section of Cheng-tu (Ssuch'uan).

worthy of note that this changing of the status of a place was a typical procedure, and one which became almost traditional. We have the year 1283 as a close approximation of the date of this change, which also provides a *terminus ad quem.* In other words, the ingot was not made later than 1283, and is probably to be dated within the interval 967–1280.

It would not be surprising if a detailed history of this region and period (such as the "Record of Chin T'ang," which is not at present available in this country) permitted an even closer dating for this ingot. The historical records are the most promising of the two sources from which help in obtaining a closer dating may come.

The particular operation for which corvee labor was required may be established—some extraordinary operations within this time interval and near enough our city geographically to make the connection of this piece of Sycee with that work extremely probable.†

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† The following from the Sung History (Shih Ho Chih No. 128, upper part 3, Chap. 175) would support this statement, and its indications with respect to the use of Mien Fu Ch'ien or corvee exemption money seem to show that our piece might date early in the interval we have established rather than towards its end.

"The protecting levee (a construction formed of branches of trees and bamboo built up along the shore to prevent the bank from being washed away) and the dam of Huang Ho (Yellow River) require yearly repairs, and for this purpose a vast army of conscripted laborers is mobilized. Those who cannot respond to the recruiting immediately are permitted to render in payment Mien Fu Ch'ien, a fee or payment for exemption from labor, instead of serving. During the period of Hsü Ning and Yuan Feng (the reign of the Emperor Sung Jen Tsung, 1068 to 1085 A.D.) the fixed rate of Mien Fu Ch'ien for the laborers of Huang Ho, in the Huai-Nan region, was ten thousand cash per labor unit. The wealthier class was levied as much as sixty labor units . . . In the middle of Yuan

What we already know points to a date between 1107 and 1128 A.D. Northern Sung was ended in the year of 1128 A.D. The annexation of her vast territory in the northern part of China, including the Huang Ho region, to Chin automatically put an end to the corvee labor required in that region. As a consequence, Mien Fu Ch'ien is no more needed for that purpose in Chin T'ang or other territories then still under Sung domination.

The weight of this fifty-tael ingot (66¼ oz. = 2060.60 gm.) gives a higher ounce value than that of a nineteenth century piece (1889.99 gm.) and furnishes additional evidence that it is an early piece. A document of 1110 A.D. recorded in the Sung History ‡ establishes that ten thousand cash was the equivalent for one ounce of silver or one reel of silk. This may indicate only that the silver of that

---

Yu (the reign of Emperor Sung Tse Chung, 1086 to 1093 A.D.), Lu Ta Fang and his followers suggested the idea of changing the course of Huang Ho. The task was so great that the required number of laborers could only be procured by collecting an equal amount of money through exempting conscript labor. The issuance of executing orders permitting the use of a money payment to replace conscripted laborers, without restriction as to the territory, was begun during the reign of Ta Kuan (Emperor Sung Hui Tsung's reign, 1107 to 1110 A.D.), when some repair work was needed for the fish pond dams in Hua-Çhou (Honan province)."

‡ Shih Ho Chih No. 133, lower part 2 in the section of Currencies or Coinage, chap. 180. "Chang Shang Ying assumed the premiership in the fourth year of Ta Kuan (1110 A.D.). He submitted an amendment outlining the injury which was being sustained, through inflation, by the use of ten-cash coins, and suggested a plan involving the utilisation of the sealed treasure such as silk, gold, silver and salt-well notes of the ministry of Interior Treasury, and Chü Mi Yuan in exchange for the ten-cash pieces in circulation. A half-year limit was set for those who had such coins to send in their holdings to the authorities. Ten thousand cash was the price fixed for a reel of silk or one liang (ounce) of silver."

day had a higher cash equivalent because of some inflationary tendency, but there is also a possibility that this data may have significance to metrologists which would help with the dating.

The incised type of silver ingots is much rarer than that of stamped ones, because they were issued for special purposes only. The inscriptions were not cut by scholars but by workmen and do not disclose any epigraphical characteristics of their period. To the best of my knowledge, this is one of the three important such pieces I have seen. One in my own collection, left behind in China, is a hundred tael piece of the T'ang dynasty. Another hundred tael piece of the same period was seen in the hands of a dealer some fifteen years ago.

It is hoped that these notes will induce further study on the part of any who may be the owners of sycee with incised inscriptions.

PLATE

UNINSCRIBED FIFTY TAEL INGOT
(Reduced)

NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

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EARLY AMERICAN CURRENCY

BY

GEORGE L. McKAY

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
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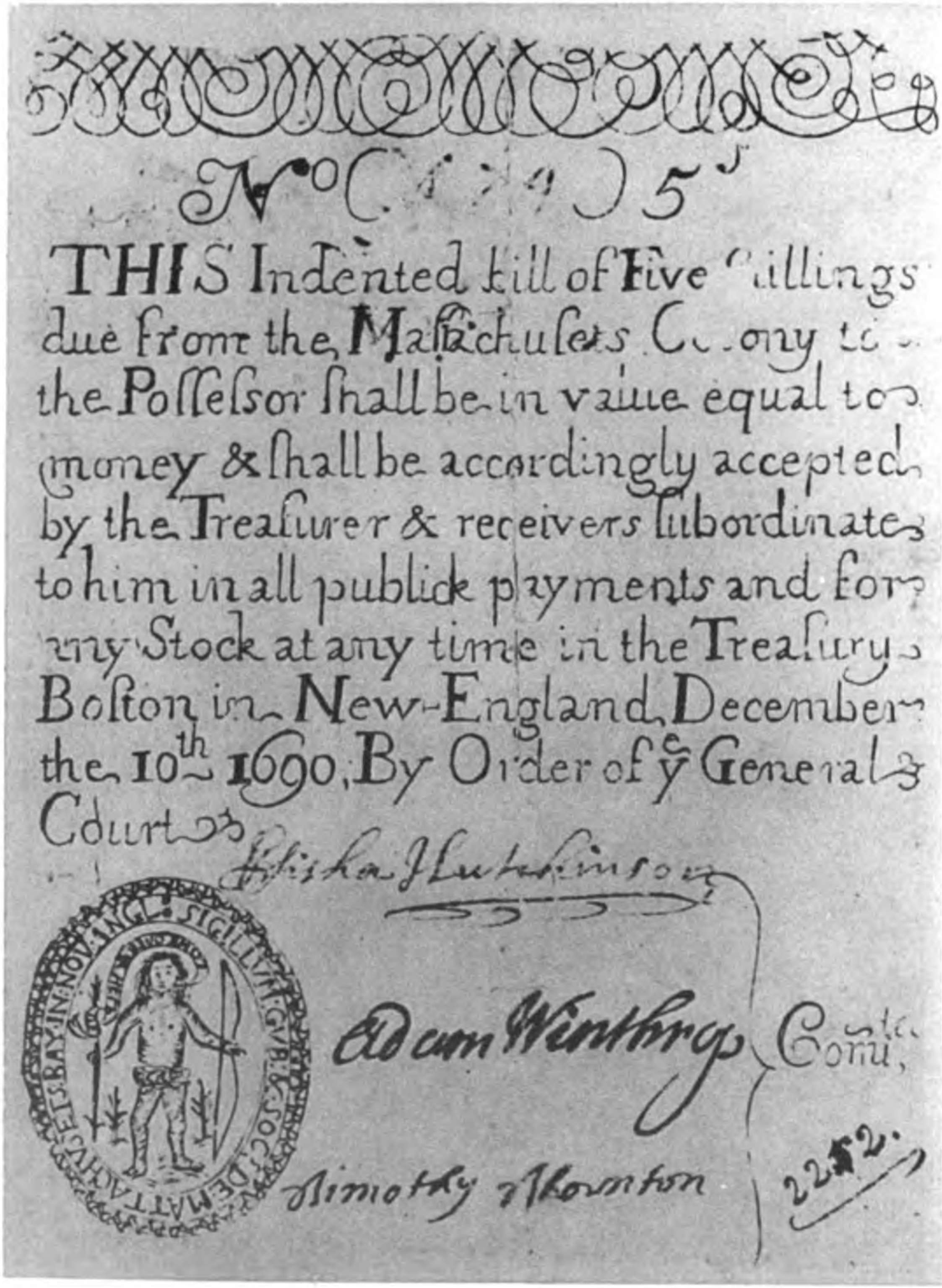
EARLY AMERICAN CURRENCY



No ( ) 5s

THIS Indented Bill of Five Shillings
due from the Massachusets Colony to
the Possessor shall be in value equal to
money & shall be accordingly accepted
by the Treasurer & receivers subordinate
to him in all publick payments and for
any Stock at any time in the Treasury.
Boston in New-England, December
the 10th 1690, By Order of ye General
Court.

Elisha Hutchinson
Adam Winthrop
Timothy Thornton
Comtee.

2252

[1]

Massachusetts issue of December 10, 1690. 5s bill of the first paper money issued and circulated in the name of a British North American colony. Possibly engraved by John Coney. 4 x 5½ inches. *Essex Institute collection.*

EARLY AMERICAN CURRENCY: SOME NOTES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAPER MONEY IN THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

BY
GEORGE L. McKAY

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
NEW YORK
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Printed in the United States of America

FOREWORD

The opportunity to read this monograph while it was still in manuscript led to an expression of regret that it had not been offered to the American Numismatic Society for publication. A few months later a suggestion was received through the author that our Society unite with the Typophiles in a joint publication which would serve the interests of both organizations. Our Society's Publication Committee welcomed this suggestion and as a result 450 copies are being printed in our format – the Typophiles' edition receives a slightly different binding. It is believed that an approach somewhat different from that of a numismatist is not without its advantages and there is good cause for confidence that both typophiles and numismatists will find the pages which follow rewarding.

THE EDITOR

PREFACE

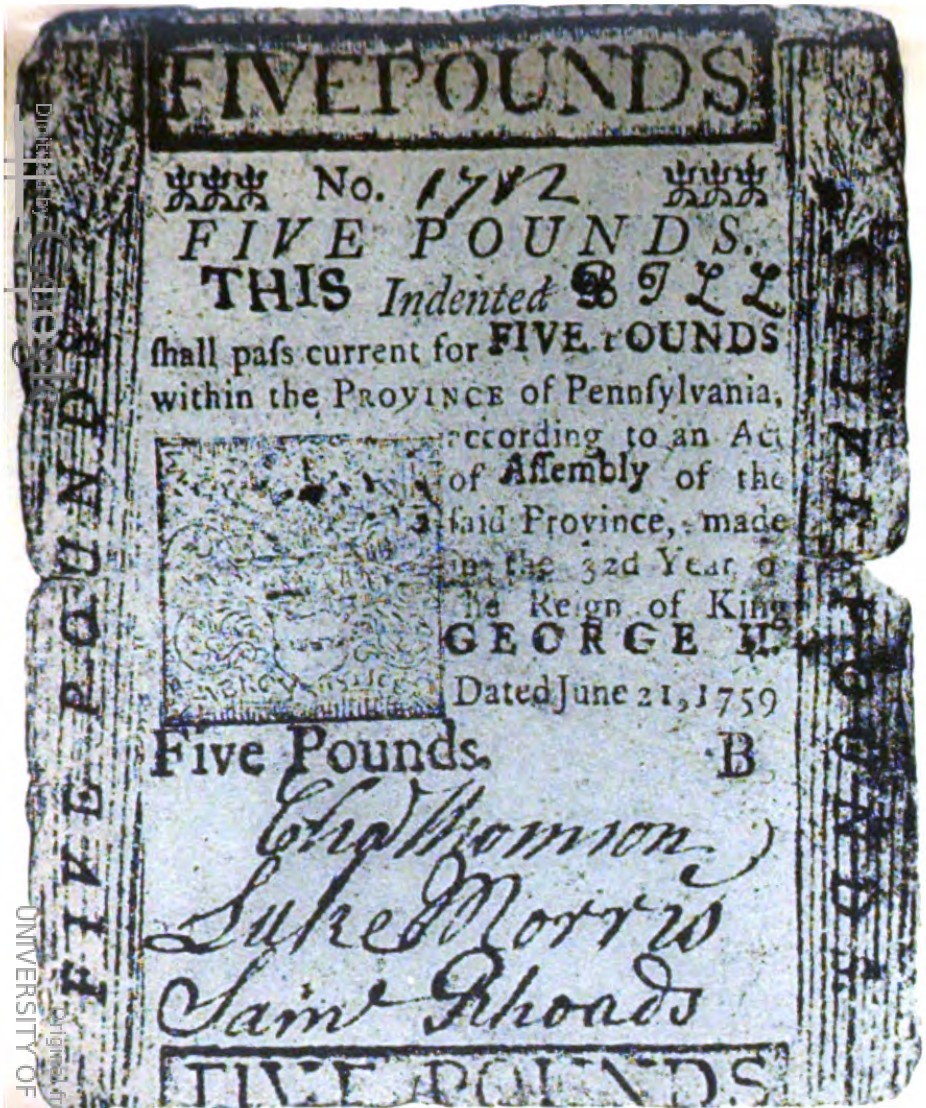
SINCE most Typophiles are concerned with one phase or another of the black art, it was believed that they might be interested in an account of the typographic money produced in the American colonies during the eighteenth century. Looking over the collection at The New York Public Library, I found that some eighteenth-century bills were printed from type and that many others, or parts of them, were printed from copperplates and woodcuts. In preparing this account I became convinced that *all* the paper money produced by the colonies under consideration was a more satisfactory subject than typographic money considered by itself. And as I believe that most Typophiles are interested not only in typography but in all the graphic arts, I feel that whatever else they may find amiss they will not object to my having thus gone beyond the boundary of the original idea.

While the scope of the *idée-mère* was broadened in one respect, it was narrowed in another. The original assignment called for a dissertation on the typo-

graphic money of the North American colonies. When, however, one has surveyed the voluminous chapters that Andrew McFarland Davis has written about the currency of the colony of Massachusetts alone, one realizes that an author with a talent for verbosity could, in writing about colonial American money, produce a volume at least as large as the *Oxford Companion to American Literature* — and that is no Chap Book. The net result of such considerations is this essay, which treats of the paper currency issued by the New England colonies only, not including the money issued by private groups in those colonies. This limitation has been somewhat disappointing to Paul A. Bennett because it has excluded from consideration Benjamin Franklin, the man who—greater and better known than any named in the essay—had an important part in the issues of paper money in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. The following note therefore is included for Mr. Bennett and others who may share his disappointment.

* * *

Franklin obtained the job of printing the Pennsylvania bills of credit not simply because he was a good printer but also because he had taken a lively interest in the whole question of paper money and had written a thirty-six-page pamphlet titled *A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a*

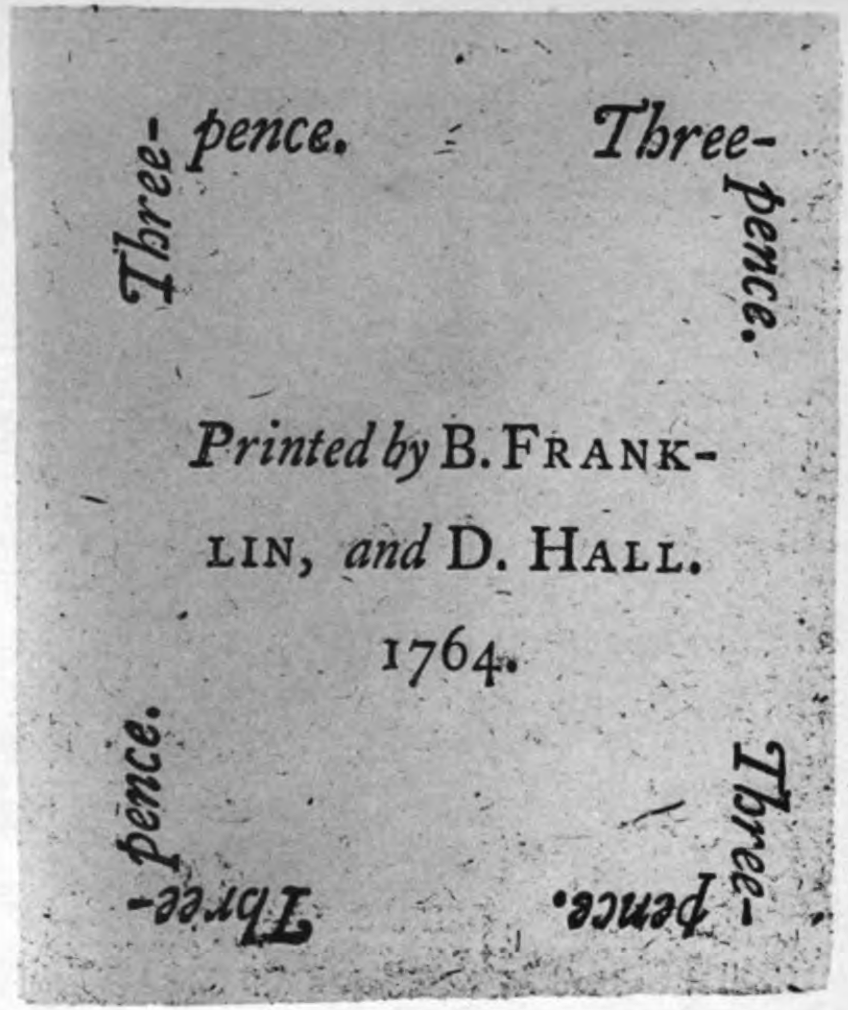


[2]

[3]

Pennsylvania issue of 1759. Printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall. Bill for £5, face and verso. 2⅞ x 3½ inches. *University of Pennsylvania Library collection.*

[4]



[5]

Pennsylvania issue of 1764. Printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall. Bill for 3d, face and verso. 2⅜ x 3 inches. *University of Pennsylvania Library collection.*

Paper-Currency, Printed at the New Printing Office, Philadelphia, 1729. This pamphlet, believed to be the second item printed by the firm of Franklin and Meredith, had considerable influence in the deliberations of the Pennsylvania legislature, as the following extract from Franklin's *Autobiography* indicates:

"About this time [1729] there was a cry among the people for more paper money, only fifteen thousand pounds being extant in the province, and that soon to be sunk. The wealthy inhabitants oppos'd any addition, being against all paper currency, from an apprehension that it would depreciate, as it had done in New England, to the prejudice of all creditors. We had discuss'd this point in our Junto, where I was on the side of an addition, being persuaded that the first small sum struck in 1723 had done much good by increasing the trade, employment, and number of inhabitants in the province. . . .

"Our debates possess'd me so fully of the subject, that I wrote and printed an anonymous pamphlet on it, entitled *The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency*. It was well receiv'd by the common people in general; but the rich men dislik'd it, for it increas'd and strengthen'd the clamor for more money, and they happening to have no writers among them that were able to answer it, their opposition slacken'd, and the point was carried by a majority in the House. My friends there, who conceiv'd I had been of some serv-

ice, thought fit to reward me by employing me in printing the money; a very profitable jobb and a great help to me. This was another advantage gain'd by my being able to write.

"The utility of this currency became by time and experience so evident as never afterwards to be much disputed; so that it grew soon to fifty-five thousand pounds, and in 1739 to eighty thousand pounds, since which it arose during war to upwards of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds, trade, building, and inhabitants all the while increasing, tho' I now think there are limits beyond which the quantity may be hurtful.

"I soon after obtain'd, thro' my friend Hamilton, the printing of the Newcastle paper money, another profitable jobb as I then thought it; small things appearing great to those in small circumstances; and these, to me, were really great advantages, as they were great encouragements."

Samuel Keimer (in whose printing establishment Franklin worked in 1723-1724 and 1727-1728), Benjamin Franklin (on his own), and the firm of B. Franklin and D. Hall printed paper currency issued by Pennsylvania between 1731 and 1764, New Jersey issues between 1728 and 1746, and Delaware issues between 1735 and 1760. During the Revolution the firm of Hall and Sellers (the descendant of Franklin and Hall) printed large quantities of paper money for

a number of the colonies and for the government of the United States. Reproductions of some of this currency are shown here.

* * *

Messrs. S. P. Noe, Secretary of The American Numismatic Society, W. A. Dwiggins and Paul A. Bennett have been good enough to read this essay in manuscript or in proof, and I am grateful to them for their valuable suggestions. We have been fortunate in obtaining for this Chap Book reproductions of currency items, some of them quite rare, belonging to the following institutions: The Essex Institute, Harvard College Library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, The New York Public Library, The Public Library of the City of Boston and the University of Pennsylvania Library.

G.L.M.

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

THE Chap Book editor has asked me to contribute a note on the design of these colonial currency bills.

The specimens occur in three classes: those engraved on metal and printed by the intaglio method (Fig. 13 a sample); those set up in type and type ornaments (Fig. 15); and those set up in type and embellished with ornaments engraved on wood for the specific job (Fig. 29).

The copperplate (intaglio) bills are interesting principally as specimens of the "display" advertising technique of the time. Trade-cards and commercial forms of those days were performed so on copper. The currency bills are more complicated and ornate than the usual run of stationers' plates—for a reason—but the whole class displays an easy familiarity with the proper shapes of letters and a happy skill in assembling them that is stimulating. One notes with regret that the stationers' copperplate craft has declined from that period of cheerful ingenuity. Work offered us now is neither cheerful nor ingenuous.

The bills set up in type are the ones of most interest to letter-press printers, no doubt—contrived out of material such as lay ready to hand, and set up by the job compositor. They are simple and direct, and as *designs* benefit from the fact that there were no "art services" in the neighborhood of their printers, nor any elaboration of printing processes to make them complicated. *As currency* they were easy to counterfeit, no doubt. The two groups of letter-press bills that strike the eye as best in design are the Connecticut lot (Fig. 17, Fig. 29, etc.) and the six Massachusetts penny bills (Fig. 23). The faces of the Connecticut bills are probably the best specimens in the exhibit as *designs*, i. e., as solutions of the problem of arranging material in an area so that the result is pleasing to the eye. The state seal as a rectangle is a fine stabilizing element, and the proportions of things one to another are the way you would like them. The single fault of the Connecticut lot is the fact that the different denominations are all too much alike. Various small efforts were made to vary them, but not enough to let you see quickly whether you were handing out a five-shilling note or a twenty-shillinger.

A more successful scheme for variety appears in the Massachusetts penny bills—each denomination in its own shape of border, quickly picked out and unmistakable. With these you didn't even need to be able to read. Our current "steel cent" misfortune

would have been avoided by a glance at these six. The ornamentalist who drew the borders for the penny notes, and the one who engraved the panels of the Connecticut designs, knew their ornament.

The ornament part of all the specimens was used, quite plainly, less as ornament than as a means for tangling up counterfeiters. Even in the case of the New Hampshire printer (Fig. 14)—far out of touch with wood-engravers, or too close to "dead line" to wait—his type ornaments were used as a snare to trip up imitators—see the Five Pounds hiding amongst the florets. Mr. Paul Revere's swirls and flourishes were introduced, no doubt (though he liked them for themselves) in the hope that a less sure-handed performer would have a hard time keeping to the line. The Treasury's geometrical-lathe tracing is in the same category as the colonial ornament-borders, but it does not serve so well nowadays when you can copy almost anything by photo-process. Just how counterfeiters are tricked now one is unable to say.

One of the Benjamin Franklin bills (Fig. 3) is notable on this point of "protection"—a token, perhaps, of Franklin's wide-reaching ingenuity—an anti-counterfeiting device more baffling than the lace-work of the geometrical-lathe. I may be off my marks (or it may be a matter of record that I do not know about) but it would appear that Franklin took a leaf and, by means of a press, stamped it into a printer's

wood-block so that the veins of the leaf made depressed lines in the wood such as would print white. Anyone who attempted to engrave on wood the intricacies of these patterns would find himself up against flat impossibility. Something of the same sort appears on the verso of the Hall and Sellers Rhode Island bill for three dollars (Fig. 34) where fabric may have been used. This should have been a sure-fire protection in the days when every such thing had to be engraved by hand.

. . . As rectangles of printed paper *all* these colonial bills—one hardly excepts the primitives (Fig. 9)—have more style than any USA paper currency issued since—a thousand times more style than the forms we use now. All the thousands of workers in the printing graphic arts will agree that the appraisal is correct.

You naturally ask (as the Chap Book editor asks): why is it not possible for us, to-day, to have paper currency as good in design as these colonial bills were?

* * *

In the year of Grace 1932 I wrote a piece trying to explain why the designs for our present day paper currency are so bad. In that tract I laid the whole blame on the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. I knew, of course, that the B E & P was not the master criminal I made it out to be—that it was, in fact, hardly more than a suborned accomplice. "The Government is our customer," the Bureau explained,

"and the customer is always right" . . . which latter may or may not be true . . . I take this opportunity to admit that my attempt to be funny at the expense of a victim under duress was not in the best taste.

A short while back I was asked by an Authority high up in the Treasury if I would be willing to make some sketches showing how I thought the five dollar bill might be improved. You may imagine that I was willing. The Bureau of Engraving and Printing gave me every help that could be imagined. The head of the engraving department came to see me and we spent half a day going into possibilities and limitations. This man was as keen about improving the Bureau's work as I was, and he knew his stuff.

I made five or six sketches (same size) and sent them to the High Authority . . . all this was just a little while before the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor. . . .

The reason for introducing this bit of autobiography is the fact that in the project I was completely stumped in every effort I made to work out a good design. The sketches I turned in were better (I think) than the designs we have, but they all failed to ring the bell, according to my idea of what such things should be.

I was stumped—not by any official interference, but by a Machine. And the machine that stumped me (contrary to your flash of association) was not

the machine that makes the anti-counterfeit lace-patterns but the machine that prints the numbers on the bills. This machine is a highly complicated and ingenious and expensive solution of a difficult problem. And it can print its numbers in only one place (sideways) and not otherwise: the numbers can be moved a little up and down but not sidewise.

If you look at a bill you may not see just what handicap the fixed positions of these numbers put upon design, but you will be in condition to have the matter explained. The point is that, with the numbers placed just so, you are *forced* to make a design of the kind that I denounced in my tract, namely, a border that surrounds . . . nothing. Nothing but the numbers, and a narrow space between them where the portrait appears. All the functional and active and really important elements of the document, that any reasonable designer would display in the central space, are forced to back away from the region they hoped to occupy, and to carry on the best way they can as parts of a *border* around . . . nothing.

. . . What can you salvage from such a situation?

You can mark *delete* against all the ornamental spinach—the acanthus leaves and the little border wiggles—all of it. Delete. It doesn't stop counterfeiters, and as ornament it is foul.

You can concentrate on the engine-lathe work (if

it is good protection) and make it a more prominent part of the pattern.

You can improve the style of the lettering—throw water in its face—slap its jaws—rouse it up out of its 1850 stupor—make it perform the way lettering ought to perform.

You can improve the design of the Treasury seal, and make it larger. (See the exhibits in this book.)

You can get more juice out of the signatures of the Secretary of the Treasury and of the Treasurer. (See the exhibits in this book.)

You can *simplify* — which is what the colonial printers were forced to do by lack of means to elaborate—which is the thing that gives their work its style.

It would help if you improved the tone of the numerals of the numbering-machine, too, along with the style of the lettering and the other numerals.

You could print the face of the certificate in color instead of in black—different colors for different denominations, red for TEN, etc., etc. It seems reasonable.... You could do these things and the bills would look better....

But the vital, basic trouble that makes it impossible for us to have good designs for our paper currency cannot be cured until the numbering-machine wears out and is scrapped.

W. A. Dwiggins

EARLY AMERICAN
CURRENCY

Early American CURRENCY

MONEY is a medium with which most human beings are immediately and deeply concerned. It is no recently-contrived refinement of civilization, but comes down to us from our primitive forebears, and the date of its first use cannot be determined. Our fundamental concerns in the economic world are, I suppose, the satisfaction of our physical needs and the possession and use of those luxuries that make our lives pleasant and enviable. As money is the measure and means of exchange for the necessities and luxuries we require, we are inclined to worry about the latter in terms of money. And so money becomes sometimes an end in itself: everyone has heard of people to whom money is not only more important than the objects and services it buys, but more important than friendship, health and life itself. I suspect, however, that the collectors of old coins and paper notes which are no longer current often get more fun out of them, than

the hoarders of mere money, kept in mattresses and safe deposit boxes, get from their hard-won accumulations.

Samuel Johnson, in his *Dictionary*, 1755, defines money as "Metal coined for the purposes of commerce;" and adds: "Money differs from uncoined silver, in that the quantity of silver in each piece of money is ascertained by the stamp it bears, which is a public voucher." Dr. Johnson makes no mention of paper money. In the latest edition of Webster's *Dictionary* there is, as might be expected, a series of definitions; after the first five, including one comparable to Dr. Johnson's, we find money defined as follows: "Any written or stamped promise or certificate such as a government note or bank note (often called paper money), which passes currently as a means of payment."

In his work on *Money and Banking* Horace White, in discussing the characteristics of good money, points out that the latter should be acceptable, stable in value, portable, uniform or homogeneous, durable, divisible, recognizable, and sufficient in quantity. Many of the things that have served as money in the past have been inadequate in one or more of these desiderata. The unsatisfactory nature of some of the following forms of money is obvious: sea shells, skins, furs, weapons, fish hooks, salt, dried fish, animals' teeth, dead shellfish, cattle, sheep, oxen, other domesticated animals, olive

oil, cocoa beans, eggs, fowl, tobacco, rice, wheat and other grains, tea bricks, wampum, iron, tin, copper, silver, gold and other metals, both coined and in other forms.

In the Mediterranean world metal coins were first used in Lydia about 700 B.C. When coins became widely current among civilized people, other forms of money came to be regarded as primitive and inferior. In our day, however, paper money has become current throughout the world and has relegated coins to the role of small change. Paper money is not merely of a new substance: its use involves a monetary principle (suggested in Webster's sixth definition) little known in the ancient world. Most of the things used as money in pre-historic and early historic times were regarded as valuable in themselves and useful for other purposes than those of exchange and measures of value. Such money has been called real money. Paper money on the contrary has regularly been circulated as fiduciary money, having little or no intrinsic value, but accepted as promises of payment in real money.[1] Paper money has many desirable qualities, but it is a delicate plant that requires steadfast and expert care. The history of its use has been far from uniform, and its depreciation has brought sorrow to millions.

[1]Lionel D. Edie has pointed out that paper money does sometimes function as real money. See his: *Money, Bank Credit and Prices* . . . New York, 1928.

Trade and Money in the American Colonies

BEFORE the American Revolution ninety per cent of the colonists on our eastern seaboard were occupied with agriculture —as planters, farmers, laborers, etc. In the South the principal crops were tobacco, rice and indigo; and in New England and the middle colonies the chief products were cereals, meat and work animals. The Mother Country discouraged the development of manufacturing in the colonies because she wanted to take from them the raw materials she required and send back to them many kinds of articles manufactured in England. Besides certain agricultural products Britain imported from us furs, lumber and various naval stores (tar, pitch, turpentine, etc.). It was provided in the Acts of Trade and Navigation that certain enumerated items should be sent to the British Isles exclusively: tobacco was placed on this enumerated list in 1660; rice, masts and naval supplies in 1706; furs in 1722; molasses in 1733; and hides, iron,

lumber and other items in 1764. England largely declined to accept our wheat, rice, fish, horses and cattle, which went to the West Indies and Southern Europe.

Particularly in the northern colonies there developed an unfavorable balance of trade with the Mother Country, since the latter would not import many of the staples mentioned above produced in the North in exchange for the manufactured articles which the colonists required in increasing numbers from English work shops. To pay their English creditors, the Northern merchants built ships and carried on in the first half of the eighteenth century a flourishing illegal trade with Southern Europe, Africa and the islands of the West Indies. They carried meat, fish, flour and lumber to the sugar islands, and brought back to the distilleries of Rhode Island and Massachusetts sugar and molasses used in the making of rum. Rum was sold to the Indians, Newfoundland fishermen and to the slave dealers in Africa in exchange for negroes. The slaves were exchanged in the West Indies for molasses and sugar, or paid for in the currency of the Spanish colonies.

English coins were used to some extent in the British American colonies from the beginning of their settlement; and until the establishment of the government of the United States, English pounds, shillings and pence were regularly the "money of account"

even when English money was not available. In view of the unfavorable balance of trade in the North it is not surprising to find that the colonists were continually complaining of a lack not only of British coins but of other money as well. In the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in 1631, corn, beaver skins and musket balls passed for money, and in the seventeenth century and later farm produce of various kinds was often accepted in payment of taxes.

In Virginia, tobacco was already the local currency as early as 1619. The attempt was made to keep its value uniform as measured in English sterling. As the acreage devoted to tobacco increased, however, the value of the commodity fell. On several occasions the planters were asked to have their acres lie fallow for a season in order that the harvested stocks might be used up and the value of the commodity preserved. Due to variations in the weather and other causes there were sometimes great and sudden changes in the supply of tobacco, and in the long run its use as currency was far from satisfactory.

In South Carolina rice was at certain periods receivable as taxes, and was no doubt a medium of exchange.

Wampum was used in trade with the Indians and also among the white people themselves, in New England and, to a lesser extent, as far south as Virginia. It consisted of beads made from shells, pierced and

strung on threads. Besides its use as currency it was worn by the Indians as necklaces, bracelets, belts, scabbards, etc. In color the beads were black, dark purple or white. At one time three of the dark or six of the white beads passed for one English penny. In 1661 the use of wampum was prohibited by law. It continued to circulate, however, in parts of Connecticut as late as 1704 and in New York province well into the eighteenth century.

The lack of hard money in the new world led some of colonists to mint coins for themselves. The first coinage in the British colonies of the North American continent occurred in Massachusetts in 1652:[2] the Pine Tree shillings, together with sixpences, threepences and twopences, made in the latter colony, circulated throughout New England. This American coinage was carried on without the approval of the Mother Country. In 1684 the English High Court of Chancery declared the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony forfeited, one of the principal charges against the latter having been its unauthorized issuance of silver coins. And in 1688 the Boston mint was closed by Sir Edmund Andros.

Due to the extensive trade with Spain and Spanish

[2] The Massachusetts coinage of this period was carried on under the direction of John Hull (1624-1683), mint-master and treasurer of the Colony, a well-to-do merchant and silversmith. In this work he was assisted by his partner, Robert Sanderson.

America many Spanish and Mexican coins found their way into the British colonies. These were chiefly Mexican dollars and fractional coins. The dollars were generally called pieces of eight (one dollar having been equivalent to eight reals). It was claimed that these coins were much clipped and sweated, and it was said that in 1652, when the Pine Tree shillings were first minted, the Spanish pieces circulated in North America had lost about a quarter of their original weight. A proclamation of Queen Anne in 1704 attempted to fix the value of various foreign coins circulating in the British plantations.

Early Paper Money

ABOUT the year 807 there was issued in China what was called "flying money." It has been supposed by some that this issue was printed;[3] it may, however, have consisted in written receipts bearing the imperial seal and torn from stubs kept in the imperial treasury. Printed money was issued in the state of Szechuen in China, first under private auspices in the first half of the tenth century, and by the state government before 970. By the end of that century the amount of Chinese paper money in circulation had reached 1,700,000,000 cash. Paper money was used in China during the following four centuries, and at various times in that period there were violent fluctuations in its purchasing power. Under Yung Lo (1403-1425) the emission of paper money was discontinued, and was not resumed in China until 1851. During the four centuries

[3]The earliest known Oriental printing is that of the Buddhist charms printed under the direction of the Empress Shotoku of Japan about the year 770. The earliest dated printed book is the *Diamond Sutra* printed in China in 868.

before Gutenberg, billions of notes were issued in China, and this use of printed paper money was described to the Western world by no less than eight European travellers.

At Tabriz, the Mongol capital of Persia, there was in 1294 an issue of paper money with the text in Chinese and Arabic; and in Japan paper currency was issued at some time between 1319 and 1327.

In Europe paper money was issued in Leyden in the sixteenth century, and in Cyprus at an earlier date. It is recorded that the Bank of Venice and the Bank of Genoa emitted paper bills in the seventeenth century, and that there was a paper-money experiment in Sweden in the middle of that century. At that time in England bills of exchange, money orders and checks (in connection with bank deposits) and goldsmiths' notes were used to some extent. It is said that in Massachusetts prior to 1652 bills of some sort were accepted in payment of debts, and that bills of credit based on mortgages of land and pledges of merchandise were issued in that colony in 1681. In 1686 a quantity of bills was printed from engraved plates but was apparently not issued for general circulation. It is reported that in Canada in 1685, when his soldiers threatened mutiny unless they were paid, the French colonial governor caused playing cards to be used as money, writing the value and signing his name on each card.

Paper Money in Massachusetts

IN the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the age-long hostilities between England and France were reflected in military encounters between the English and French colonists in the new world. Toward the end of the seventeenth century Boston merchants had lost ships and cargoes to French cruisers. In 1690 Sir William Phips had captured Port Royal from the Acadians in Nova Scotia; and, encouraged by this success, he planned an expedition against Quebec. Money was borrowed in the colonies to finance this adventure, but England contributed nothing; it was expected, however, that the loot from the Canadian settlement would more than pay the costs of the undertaking. In August of that year, 2200 men were crowded into thirty-two ships, and with a scanty supply of ammunition set sail from Boston under Sir William and his lieutenant, John Walley, a Cape Cod militia-man. Arriving alongside Quebec in October

Phips sent to Governor General Frontenac a demand for his surrender. Frontenac commanded 2700 men and a well-armed fortress. Within a week he defeated the Phips expedition, and some of its ships never returned to Boston. The militia-men who got back to New England in November were a tired and disillusioned lot, and they wanted their pay.

To satisfy the importunate soldiers, who had received no booty in Canada, it was proposed that a sum be raised by loans from Boston merchants. The latter, however, were not responsive; and in December the provisional government of the Massachusetts Bay Colony emitted £7,000 in bills engraved from copperplates. This was the first paper money circulated in the name of a British North American colony. The bills were issued (not for lack of money, it was said, but for lack of money in the treasury) in amounts between five shillings and five pounds, and read as follows:

> N° ( ) 20^{s}
>
> This Indented Bill of Twenty shillings due from the Massachusetts Colony to the Possessor shall be in Value equal to Money and shall be Accordingly Accepted by the Treasurer, and Receivers subordinate to him in all Publick Payments, and for any stock at any time in the Treasury Boston in New England Decem^{r} 10th 1690.
>
> {Locus Sigilli} } Committee

The bills were received skeptically by the soldiers and by others to whom they were paid, and presently they were accepted at only seventy to eighty per cent of their face value. As the population became familiar with them, however, and as the government offered to accept them in payment of taxes and other dues at a premium of five per cent, their circulating value was restored. Soon after it was issued the £7,000 in paper money was "found to be far short of what is absolutely necessary." More bills were printed, and by an order of May 21, 1691, the limit in the amount that might be issued was set at £40,000. Of the bills issued in February, 1690/1, the range of denominations was from two shillings to ten pounds, probably in bills of the eight following amounts: 2s, 2s 6d, 5s, 10s, 20s, 60s, 100s and 200s.

Cotton Mather regarded the emission of the Massachusetts bills of credit as a wise step, and he defended the action of the colonial government in an article addressed to the treasurer of the colony published anonymously in 1691.[4] He wrote: "I am told, and am apt to believe it, That the Exchequer in Silver Runs very Low; Nor can I think that the Country in General is much better furnished. 'Twas an honest and good method you took, to pay by Bonds what

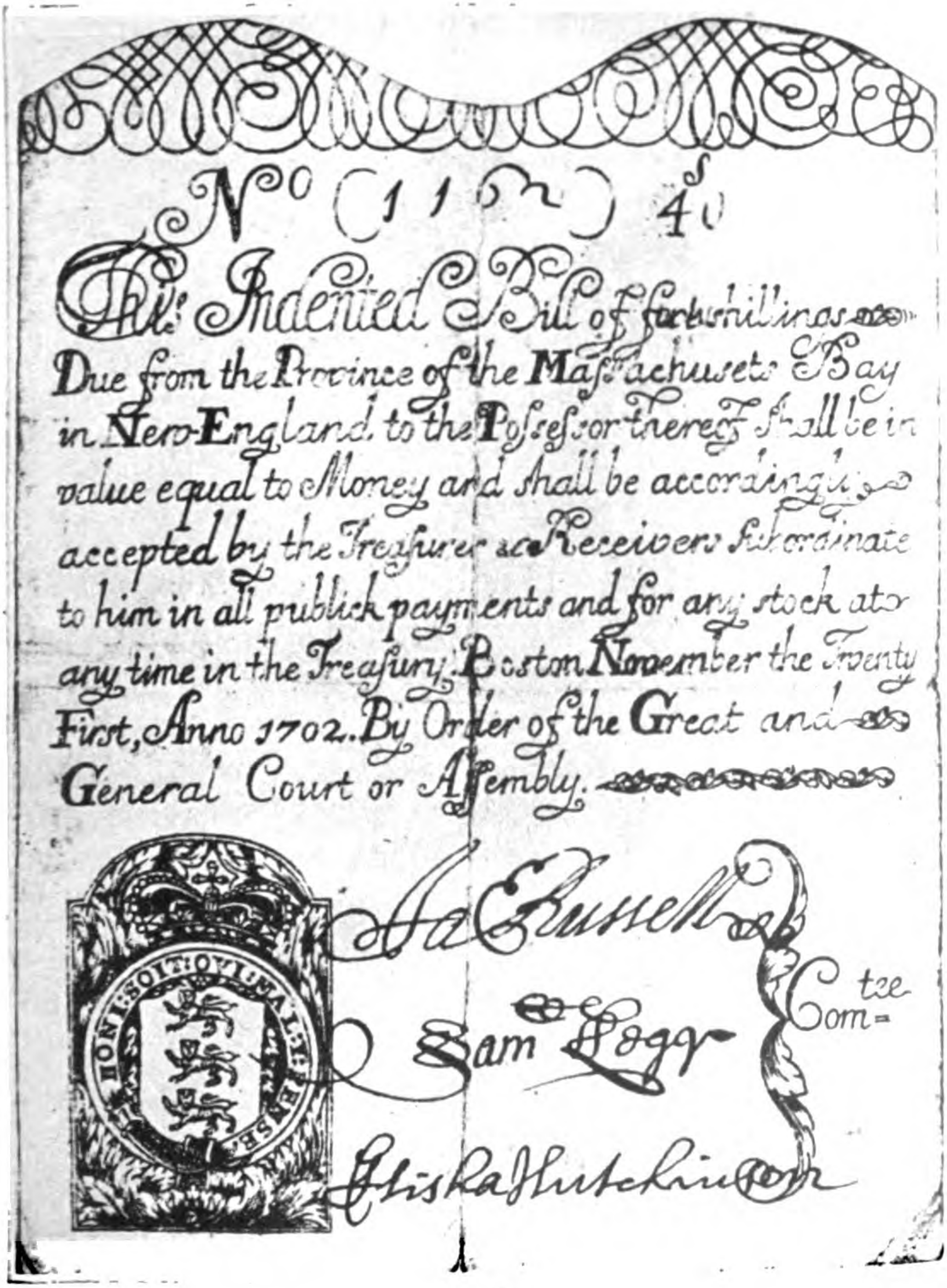
[4] *Some Considerations of the Bills of Credit Now passing in New-England. Addressed unto the Worshipful, John Philips Esq; Published for the Information of the Inhabitants.*

you could not by Ready Cash. I therefore cannot a little wonder at the great indiscretion of our Countrymen who Refuse to accept that, which they call Paper-mony, as pay of equal value with the best Spanish Silver. What? is the word Paper a scandal to them? Is a Bond or Bill-of-Exchange for 1000 l, other than Paper? And yet is it not as valuable as so much Silver or Gold, supposing the Security of Payment is sufficient? Now what is the Security of your Paper-mony less than the Credit of the whole Country. . . ."

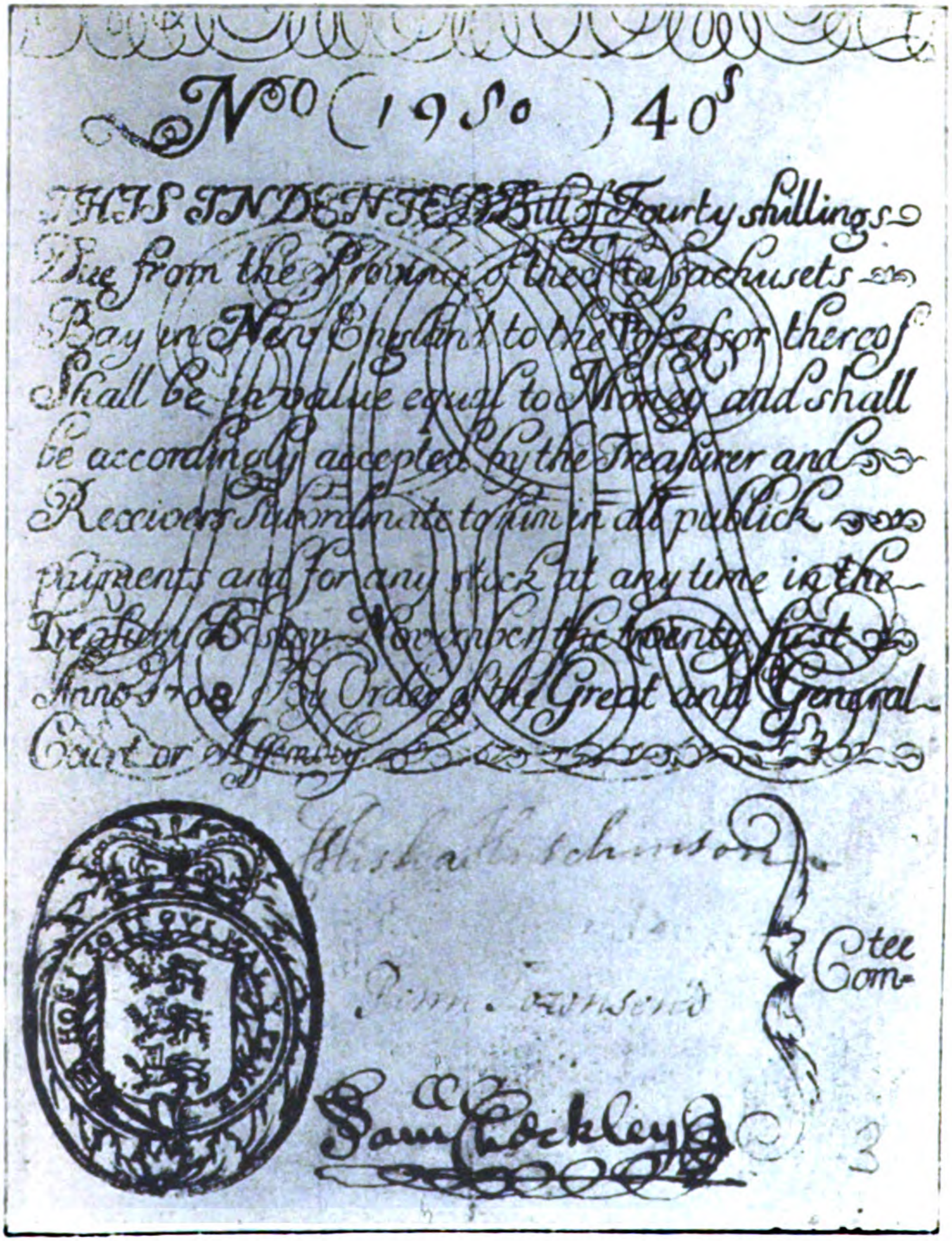
It will be noted that the first issues were made in the period between the revocation of the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1684, and the establishment of a new provincial government under the charter of 1691. The old Plymouth Colony and that of Maine were united in the new province of the Massachusetts Bay, and Sir William Phips was made its first royal governor. What were later called old tenor[5] bills were first issued by the province in 1702, but some of the bills that had been emitted by the colony were kept in circulation for at least ten years after the establishment of the new government.

Previous to 1702 the taxes levied each year were at least in part a fund for the retirement of the annual

[5]The term *tenor* here used means the value of a bank note or bill, stated on it, at which it was supposed to be accepted. *Tenor* was used as an English word as early as the thirteenth century, but its use with the above specific meaning apparently first occurred in eighteenth-century New England.



Massachusetts issue of 1702. First old tenor issue. This bill has been "raised" to 40s. Engraved by John Coney. 4 x 5½ inches. *Public Library of the City of Boston collection.*



[7]

Massachusetts issue of 1708, containing the "escutcheon to prevent fraud," i.e. a monogram printed in red in England before shipment of the paper to Massachusetts. The text of the note was engraved and printed in Boston. 3⅞ x 5⅛ inches. *New York Public Library collection.*

issues and re-issues of the colony currency. The redemption of the bills when the taxes were received and the subsequent re-issuing of bills came to be regarded as a cumbersome procedure. Beginning in 1702 the dates assigned for the retirement of bills were set ahead, and currency was issued in anticipation of taxes expected over a period of years. By 1714 the income of the province from taxation was pledged for six years (i.e. until 1720).

The General Court, i.e. the provincial legislature, was often at odds with the royal governors in questions relating to the currency. The Court was inclined to favor the demands of the merchants and others for more currency and the various governors often attempted to restrain the legislators. The latter hotly pressed their claims to control disbursements from the treasury and embarrassed the governors by declining to approve a steady and satisfactory salary for these representatives of the King.

Until the 1740's (except for the year 1716) the annual emissions of Massachusetts bills of credit were under £100,000. Retirements in these years lagged behind the amounts issued so that the sums in circulation continued to increase. The total amounts of bills of the province outstanding on May 1 of various years in the first half of the eighteenth century (reduced to old tenor rates) were as follows:

1703	£ 5,090	1735	£ 309,400
1704	25,500	1740	205,500
1710	115,500	1745	543,800
1715	244,500	1746	1,445,400
1720	229,500	1748	2,135,300
1725	350,700	1750	1,819,800
1730	311,300		

In the summer of 1711, £50,000 of bills of credit were lent for a short term to Boston merchants to enable them to furnish supplies to the Hill and Walker expedition. On December 4, 1716, the Court voted to emit £100,000 to be distributed proportionately to the counties and loaned to the inhabitants at five per cent interest. This latter emission was of the nature of the "banks" issued in Rhode Island.

The scarcity of coined money in the northern colonies has already been mentioned. Laws were passed in New England in the latter years of the seventeenth century designed to suppress the exportation of coins. It was difficult to enforce such laws, and when paper money began to circulate generally, coined silver began to disappear. The latter development exemplifies Gresham's Law (not passed by any legislature) to the effect that bad money drives out good, and that when depreciated, mutilated or debased coins or currency are in circulation, money of high value in terms of the precious metals will disappear.

As the calling in of the Massachusetts paper money lagged, and as the amounts in circulation continued to increase, it was found that silver money was at a premium, and during the first half of the eighteenth century New England paper currency steadily depreciated in terms of English sterling.

New tenor bills were issued by authority of an act passed in February, 1736/7. The old tenor bills that circulated concurrently were accepted at about a quarter of their face value in terms of the new tenor bills. Second new tenor bills were authorized in January, 1741/2, and on June 20, 1744, the third and last form of Massachusetts new tenor bills was adopted.

From the 1680's, when paper money schemes began actively to be considered in New England, until the resumption of specie payments in Massachusetts in 1749, there was published in newspapers and in pamphlet form a considerable volume of letters and tracts for and against the use of paper money. This material has been assembled by Andrew McFarland Davis and published in four large volumes by the Prince Society.[6] Much of this literature was written in deep sincerity and as the result of painful experience; while it provides valuable source material for the economic and social history of the colonies, some

[6] *Colonial Currency Reprints 1682-1751. With an Introduction and Notes by A. McFarland Davis, A.M.*... Boston: Published by the Prince Society, 1910-1911.

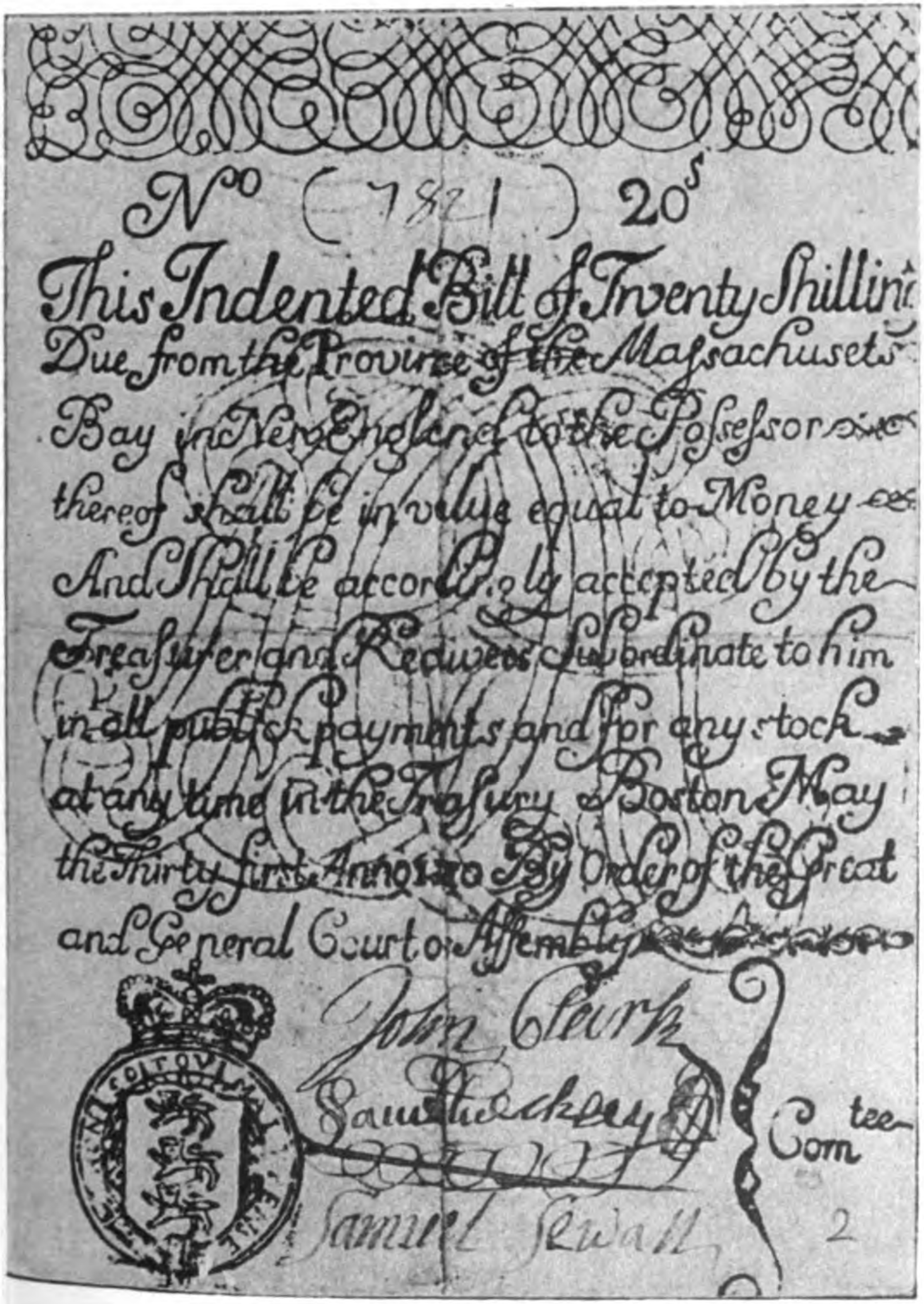
of it is in its theorizing rather crackpot and most of it is verbose. The following quotation from a pamphlet[7] issued by the Reverend John Wise of Chebacco in 1721 is a rather typical example of the colorful language used in these eighteenth-century papers. Wise, writing under the pseudonym, Amicus Patriæ, defended the use of paper money:

"I. Question. *How shall we keep up the Value of our Bills of Public Credit?* There be many good Gentlemen, that profess they would join their suffrage for their Establishment, if there was any way to keep them Par with Money. Therefore this is the great *Question*. How it shall be done?

"*Answer*. To this puzling Question, I shall Answer under a few heads, or Cut the Gordian Knot.

"I. *Gentlemen!* You must do by your Bills, as all Wise Men do by their Wives; Make the best of them. It is an acknowledged Theorem, that there is no doing without Wives. The Lonesome and sower Phylosopher would frankly confess, that Women, were necessary Evils: For without their Assistance the whole Humane Race must vanish; And unless they are

[7] *A Word of Comfort to a Melancholy Country. Or the Bank of Credit Erected in the Massachusetts-Bay, Fairly Defended by a Discovery of the Great Benefit, accruing by it to the Whole Province; With a Remedy for Recovering a Civil State when Sinking under Desperation by a Defeat on their Bank of Credit. By Amicus Patriæ* . . . Boston: Printed in the Year, 1721, pp. 29-30.



Massachusetts issue of 1710. 20s bill. 4⅛ x 5¾ inches. *New York Public Library collection.*

[9]

Massachusetts fractional currency of 1722. Printed from type on parchment. Bill for 1d: 1¾ inches in diameter. Bill for 2d: 1¾ inches square. Bill for 3d: 2 inches in diameter. *Harvard College Library collection.*

Metamorphised into things called Wives, the whole Species would soon Laps into an heard-of Brutified Animals. The great Skill is to cultivate the necessity and make it a Happiness; for that end, Wise Men Love their Wives; and what ill-conveniences they find in them they bury; and what Vertues they are inrich't with they Admire and Magnifie. And thus you must do by your Bills for there is no doing without them; if you Divorce or Disseize your selves of them you are undone; Therefore you must set them high in your Estimation; and be no ways Prodigal of their Reputation, so as to vilify or run them down; as tho' they had more mischief than Good in them."

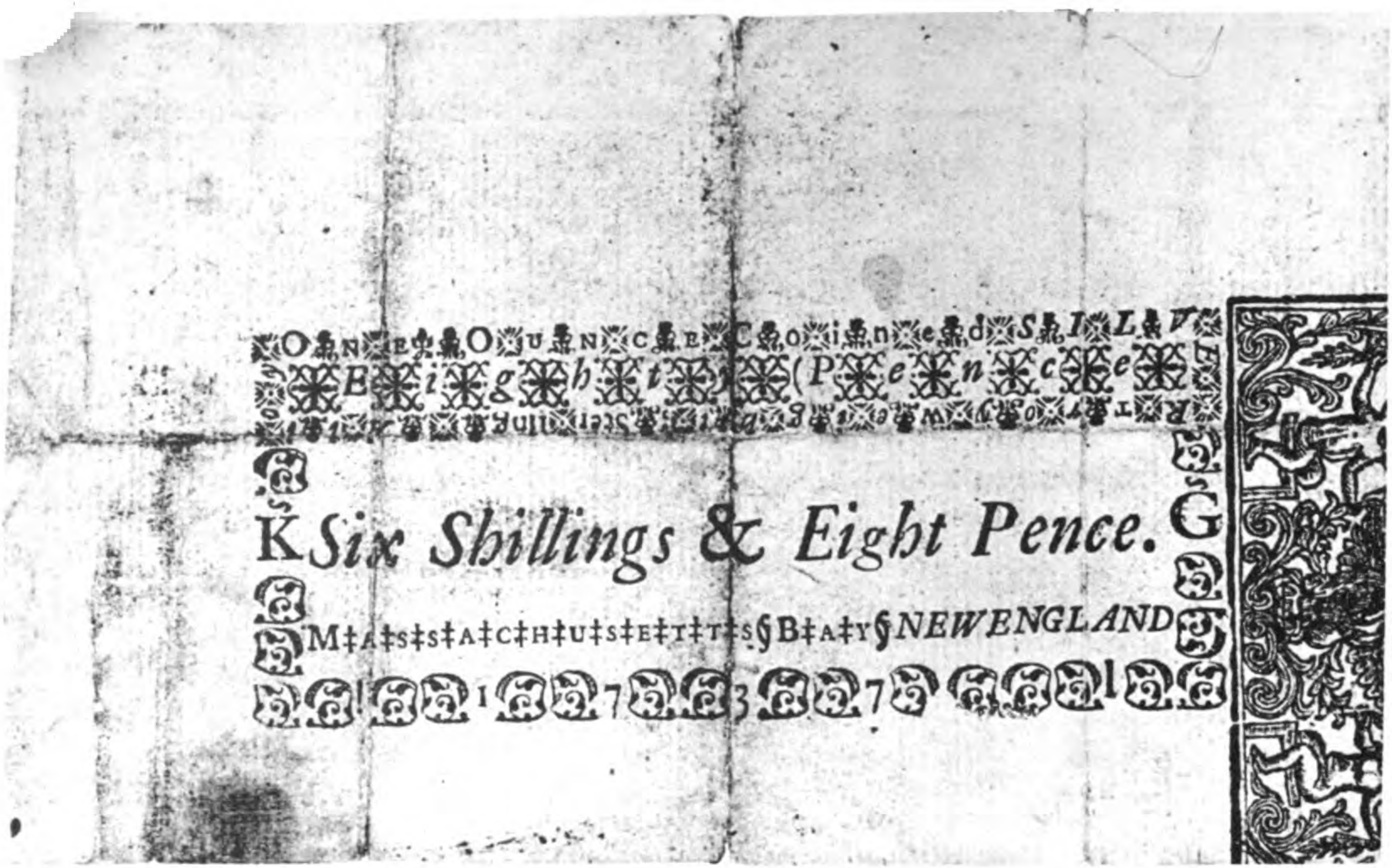
One of Wise's contemporaries made a pun in pointing out that "Amicus Patriæ" was "Worldly-Wise Man." The Reverend Wise was accused of having borrowed £1250 in the recent "public bank" (1716?) on which he had not been able to pay the interest. His sincerity in defending the use of paper money was brought into question when it was reported that he petitioned the supreme court of judicature asking that his salary be paid in silver or its equivalent.

Specie Payments Resumed in Massachusetts

IN the '40's the War of the Austrian Succession brought about a renewal of the hostilities between the English and French colonials in North America. Beginning in 1744, in order to improve the military position of the province and to carry on military expeditions, bills of credit were issued in unprecedented amounts. The most striking military event in the American scene at this time was the capture of Louisburg in 1745 by British Americans, a stronghold which the French had recently fortified on Cape Breton. This fortress was returned to the French following the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, but the military preparations and expeditions had cost the British colonists a large sum. It was felt that Old England should reimburse her new world offshoots for what the latter had done to the common enemy.

After discussion and pressure the British government decided to pay to the colonies the amount of their expenditures in connection with the Louisburg

Massachusetts issue, 1736-1737. First new tenor emission; in this issue Massachusetts bills were for the first time wider than they were high. Bill for 6s, 8d. *Massachusetts Historical Society collection.*



[11]

Massachusetts issue of 1736-1737. Verso of foregoing note.

expedition. In 1748 it was learned that Massachusetts was to receive as her share £183,649 sterling from the British treasury. This sum was equal to about £244,-866 "lawful money" of Massachusetts, or about £1,-836,495 reduced to old tenor. It will be seen that the latter sum approached the total of paper currency of the province then in circulation. Considering its depreciation and other shortcomings, it is small wonder that many of the colonists felt that the use of paper money had been an unsatisfactory experiment;[8] and it was now believed that the opportunity had come for the resumption of specie payments.

In the summer of 1749, the coins by which the payment to the province was made were shipped in the *Molyneaux*. And in September, 1749, the people of Boston "saw seventeen trucks dragged up King Street to the treasury offices, laden with two hundred and seventeen chests full of Spanish dollars, and ten trucks bearing a hundred casks of coined copper."[9] Sizable sums had been deducted from the principal amount to pay for transportation, insurance and other fees; and it was found that the imported coins would redeem only £1,752,405 of the Massachusetts bills of public credit (old tenor).

[8] Governor Samuel Shute had stated in 1718: "We shall never be upon a firm and lasting foundation, 'til we recover and return to silver and gold, the only true species of money."

[9] Palfrey, John Gorham. *History of New England*. Boston, 1882.

The fact that there was not quite enough coin to take care of all outstanding bills, and the fact that the bills of Massachusetts were circulating in neighboring colonies while bills of the latter were circulating in Massachusetts were bothersome difficulties. These problems, however, were solved, and the use of specie in the '50's and '60's is believed to have contributed to the prosperity of the province in those decades.

In 1751, Parliament passed an act regulating and curtailing the use of paper bills of credit in New England. This law forbade the use of paper money as legal tender, authorizing its use only for government expenses and in case of invasion. The act was not uniformly enforced throughout New England, but from this time paper had a less dominant role as the medium of exchange in Massachusetts until the great expenditures required by the American Revolution brought about enormous new issues of paper currency, which were emitted by all the revolting colonies and by the Continental Congress.

Recklessness in Rhode Island

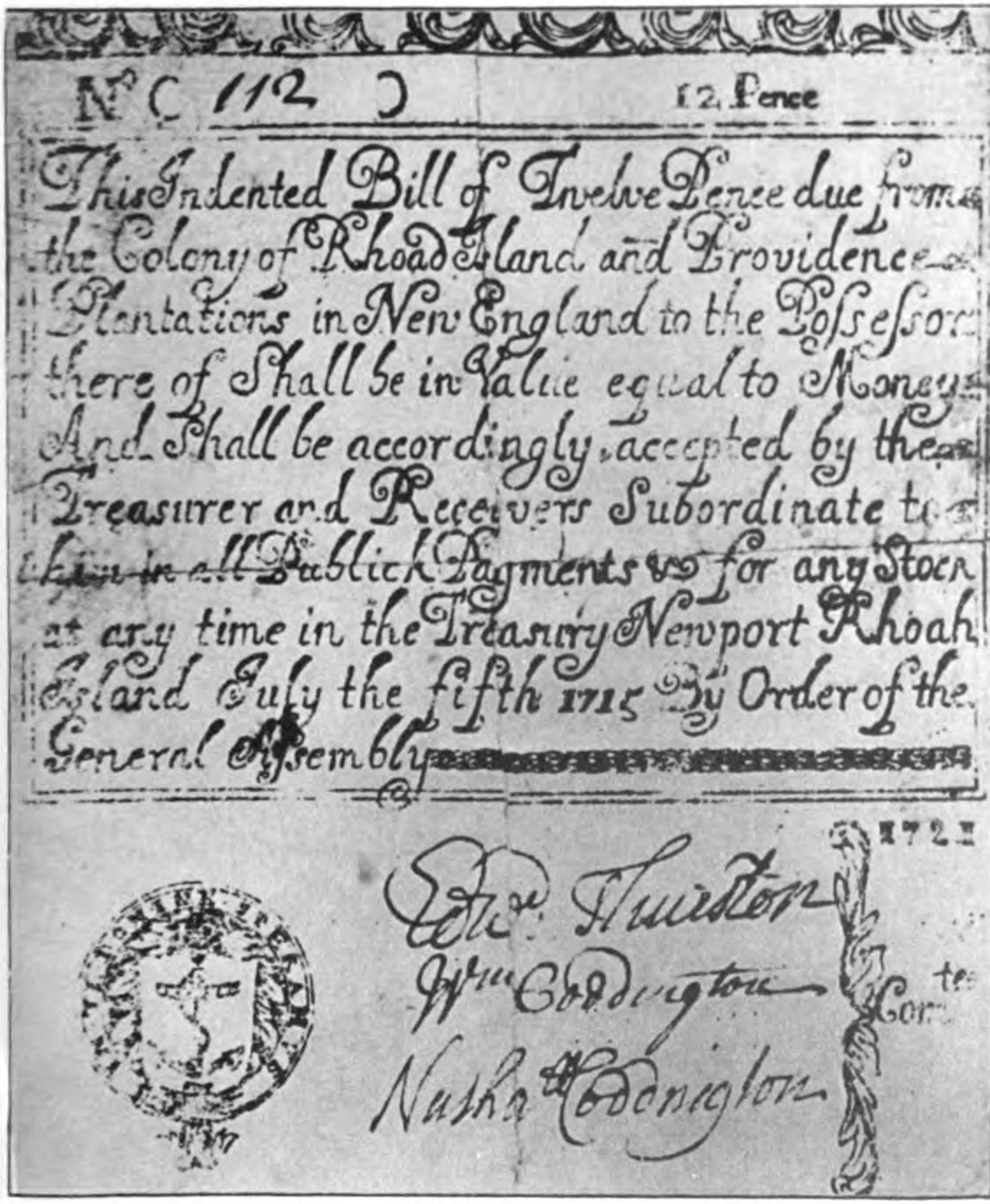
IF the government of Massachusetts was indiscreet in handling its paper currency, the government of Rhode Island was reckless. The issue of £5,000 in the latter colony in May, 1710, was a modest enough beginning. But in 1715 £40,000 were emitted by this small colony, occasioned by costs of expeditions against the Canadians—an important contribution to the inflation. Beginning in the latter year the Rhode Island bills were often issued as loans or "banks" to the public, which was apparently eager to receive the bills and pay interest for them. The interest paid by the public was expected to defray the costs of government and to render taxation unnecessary. By emitting large banks the Rhode Island authorities believed that they were not only contributing to the convenience and prosperity of their own colony, but that they were also performing a service to the neighboring colonies, whose inhabitants complained that there was an insufficient supply of paper money. The Rhode Island bills circulated throughout New Eng-

land and were an important factor in the depreciation of the currency of that region.[10]

The first bank, emitted in 1715, was let out at five per cent interest for ten years. In May, 1728, the time allowed for payment of this bank was extended from ten to thirteen years, and then instead of requiring full payment at the due dates the authorities permitted the debtor public to retire its obligations during the ensuing ten years, paying one-tenth of the obligations each year and without interest after the first thirteen years. In June, 1728, the due dates for the second bank were set ahead thirteen years, with similar arrangements for installment payments.

As in Massachusetts, the issues of paper money were the subject of heated debates in government circles, and as the currency depreciated the proposals for remedying the condition commanded a good deal of attention. The legislature attempted from time to time to fix the depreciated rate at which the bills should pass, but the actual depreciation was usually greater than that defined by government. The colony evidently lost considerable interest and principal in outstanding banks. In the bank of September, 1740,

[10] In May, 1721, Rhode Island issued a second bank of £40,000; and in May, 1728, a third bank of a like amount was offered to the public. In 1731 and 1733 new banks were emitted in the amounts of £6,000 and £100,000 respectively. In August, 1738, another bank of £100,000 was issued. In the 1740's large sums continued to be emitted, as was the case in Massachusetts.

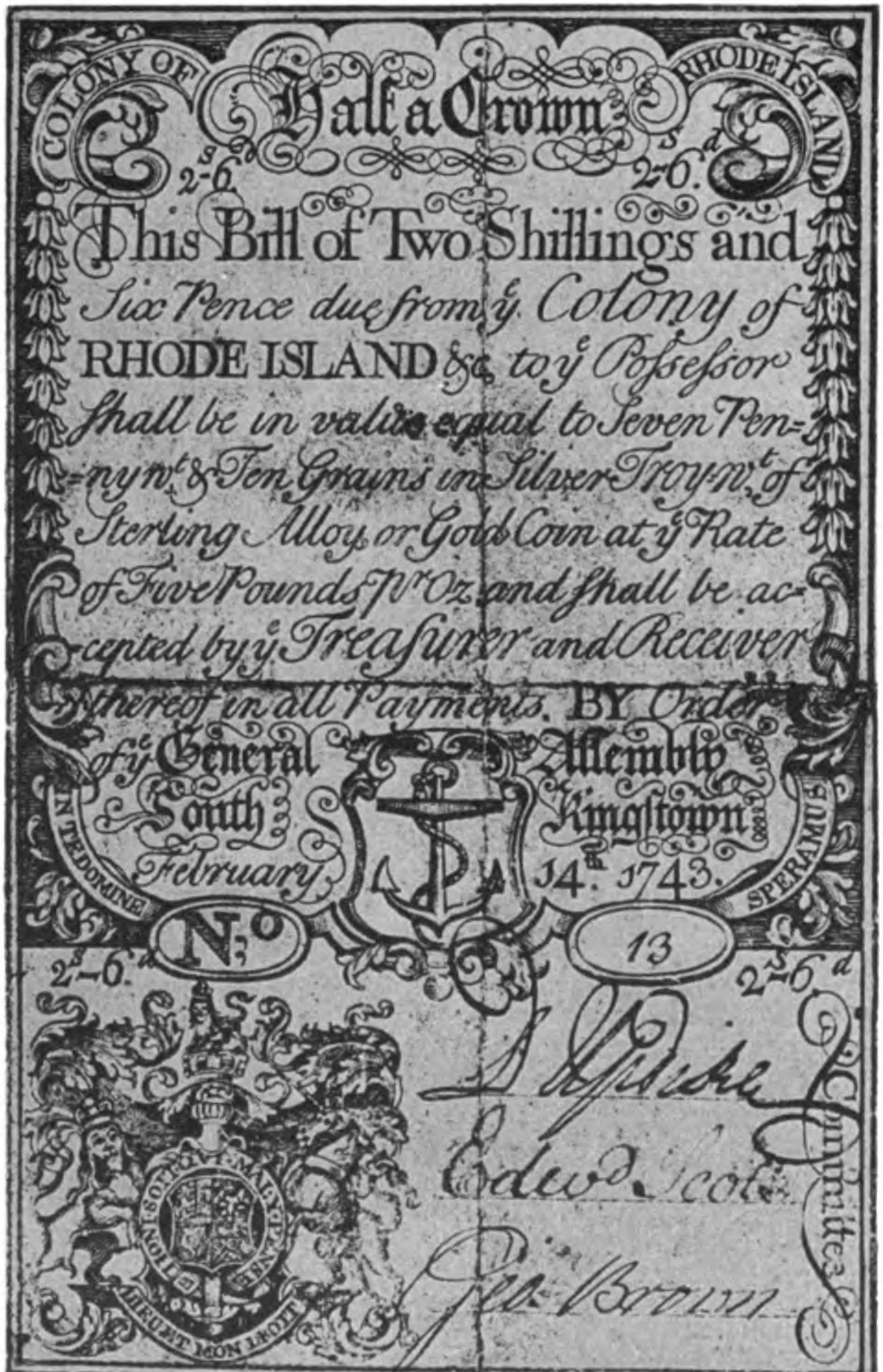

No (112) 12 Pence

This Indented Bill of Twelve Pence due from the Colony of Rhoad Island and Providence Plantations in New England to the Possessor there of Shall be in Value equal to Money And Shall be accordingly accepted by the Treasurer and Receivers Subordinate to him in all Publick Payments & for any Stock at any time in the Treasury Newport Rhoad Island July the fifth 1715 By Order of the General Assembly

Edw. Thurston
Wm Coddington
Nath. Coddington

[12]

Rhode Island issue of 1715. Bill for 12d. 4 x 4¾ inches. ***New York Public Library collection.***



Rhode Island issue of 1743/4. One of the signers of this bill was D[aniel] Updike, an ancestor of Daniel Berkeley Updike, founder of the Merrymount Press.

Rhode Island issued new tenor bills. This and following issues continued to circulate as new tenor until about 1756-1758. The borrowers of this bank were to make payment in the bills themselves, in silver at 6s 9d per ounce, or in gold at £5 per ounce. These values were printed on the face of each bill. New tenor bills circulated at four times the face value of the old tenor. It was claimed by members of the government that depreciation had been caused simply by the exchange of the colony's bills of credit for gold and silver at rates higher than those specified in the acts of emission. And it was accordingly enacted in 1750, that anyone passing one of the bills at a rate higher than that specified could be brought to trial and excluded from the freemen of the colony.

In spite of the act passed in 1751 by the English Parliament to curtail the use of paper currency in New England, the Rhode Island government continued to issue bills of credit during the '50's and '60's. There were large emissions of old tenor bills in 1755; and in 1756 were the first issues of bills known as "lawful money."

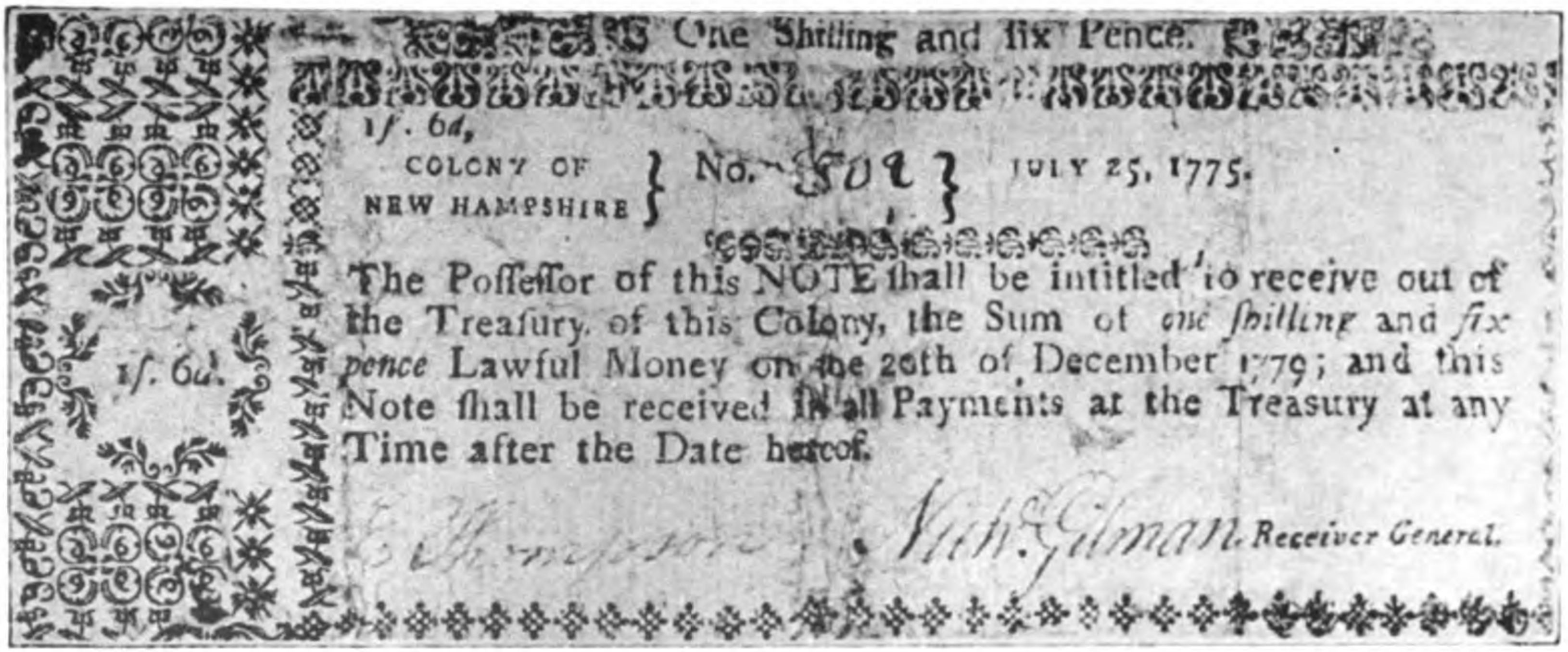
Rhode Island continued to emit bills throughout and following the Revolution, the final issue having been a bank issued in 1786 in the amount of £100,000. The latter was at first a legal tender, but following its rapid depreciation the law making it a tender was repealed.

Paper Money in New Hampshire

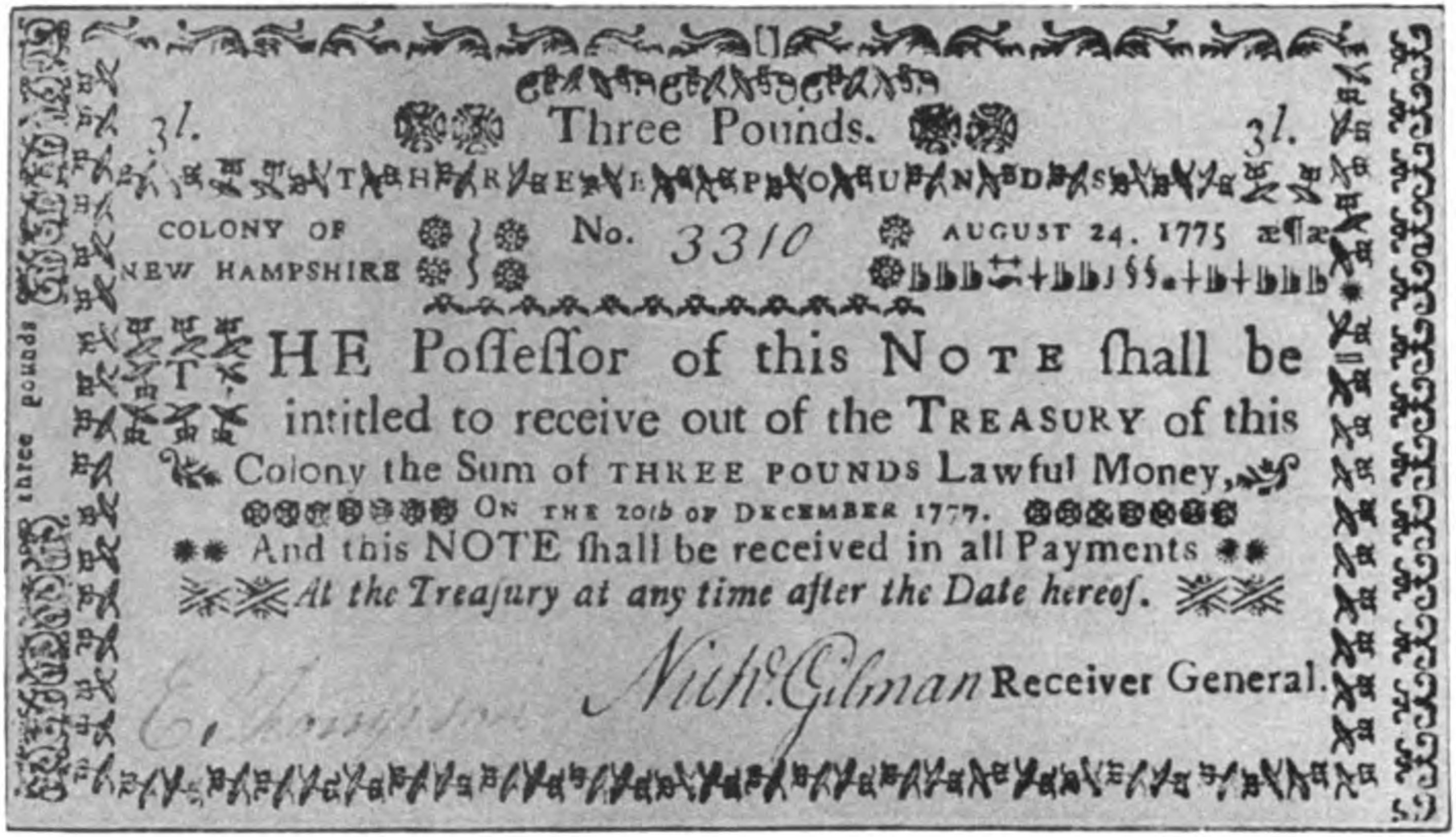
IN 1705, the specie received in the treasury of New Hampshire was not sufficient to pay the governor's salary. The attempt to borrow funds from Massachusetts was evidently unsuccessful, and in 1709 the government of this northern colony felt obliged to issue paper money.

New Hampshire's experience with paper currency was similar to that of her neighbors. The governor and the assembly were frequently at odds. The depreciation of the New Hampshire bills was of course uniform with that of the other New England colonies. Governor Belcher complained of the depreciation in connection with his own salary: he said that in 1730-1731 the premium on silver was 250; in 1732, 270; in 1733, 300; and in 1734-1739, 425.

In 1739 William Douglass in his *Discourse concerning the Currencies of the British Plantations in America* wrote disparagingly of the New Hampshire bills



New Hampshire issue of July 25, 1775. Bill for 1s, 6d. Printed from typographic letters and ornaments, verso blank. 5¼ x 2⅛ inches. *New York Public Library collection.*



New Hampshire issue of August 24, 1775. Bill for £3. Printed from typographic letters and ornaments, verso blank. 4¾ x 2¾ inches. *New York Public Library collection.*

of credit: "New Hampshire (too diminutive for a separate province, of small trade and credit) their public bills are so much counterfeited they scarce obtain a currency, hence it is (the governor's instruction is also a bar), that at present their outstanding bills of public credit, some on funds of taxes, some on loan, do not exceed £12,000, gradually to be cancelled by December, 1742. Their ordinary charge of government is about £1,500 New England currency per annum."

Up to December 31, 1739, the amount of public bills issued by the colony had totalled £56,384. In 1743 £25,000 in new tenor bills were loaned for ten years. Governor Shirley of Massachusetts said that this affected the rate of silver in his province. New Hampshire emitted £13,000 in February, 1744/5, as her contribution to the expenses of the expedition against Louisburg; and the following year she issued £60,000 to furnish clothing, arms, etc., for the war against Canada.

Connecticut, Victim of the Other New England Colonies

AMONG the New England governments that of Connecticut seems to have been the most cautious in the issuing of paper bills of credit. The first Connecticut emission occured in 1709 in the amount of £8,000.[11] The act authorizing the issue was an exact copy of the Massachusetts law under which the current bills of the latter colony were issued. Of the £8,000 first ordered £4,000 were to be signed and turned over to the treasurer for disbursement, the remaining half to be held, unsigned, in the hands of the committee in charge of the issue until further order of the General Court. From the beginning five per cent was allowed on payments to the treasury made in the colony bills; and this five per cent was added to the

[11] Besides the initial emission of £8,000 in 1709, an additional £11,000 were issued later the same year. £5,000 were issued in 1710, £10,000 in 1711 and £21,000 in 1713. From then until the '30's the emissions were quite small. In 1733 £50,000 were issued, in 1735 £25,000, and in 1740 £19,000 of old tenor and £30,000 of new tenor bills were emitted.

taxes allocated to the retirement of the bills. It was enacted that during the period 1709-1727 a tender of bills in settlement of an indebtedness should stay execution, even though the contract in which the indebtedness had originated had specified payment of coin. This provision was extended to 1735.

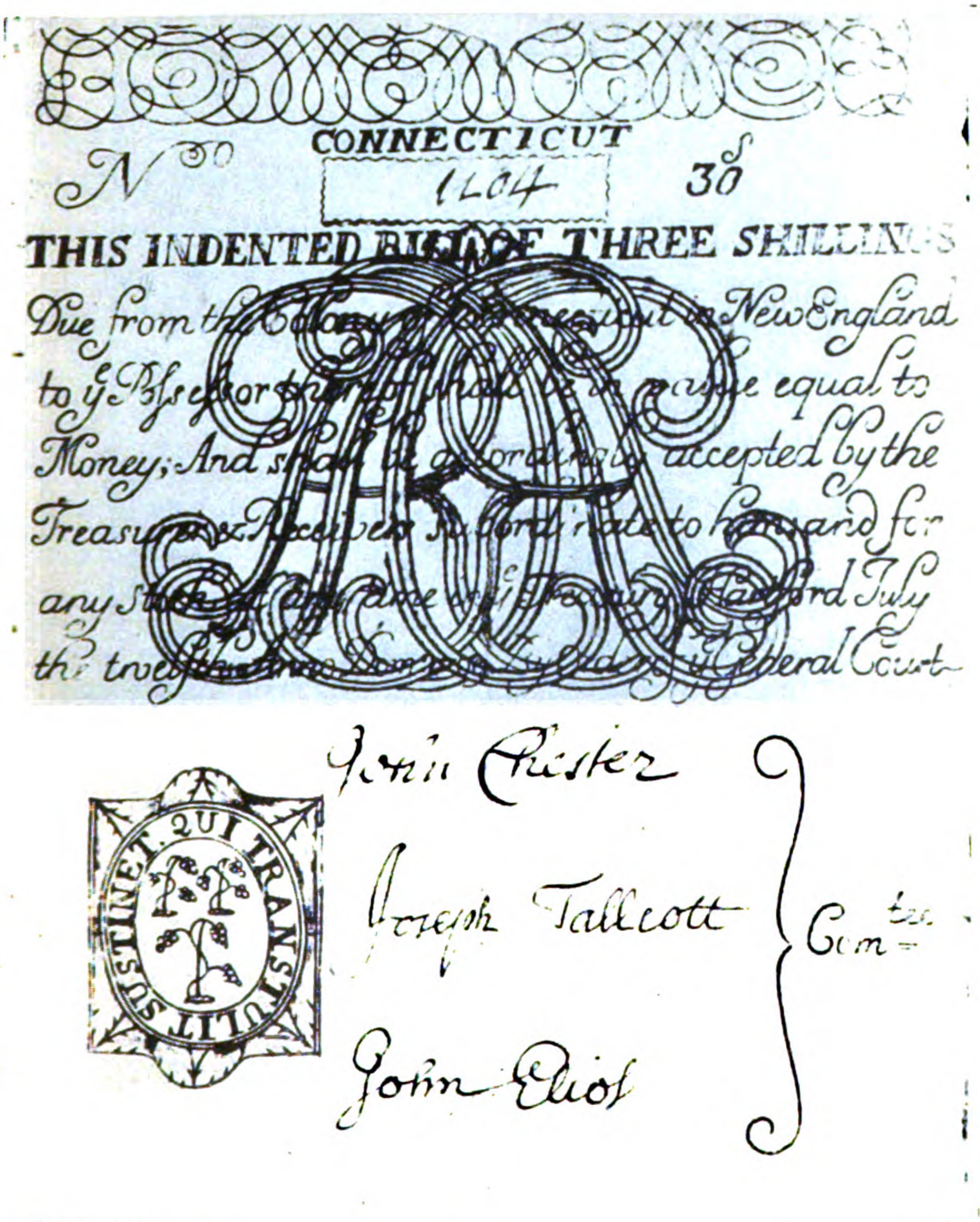
The Connecticut government seems to have understood better than the others in New England the relationship between the amount of paper currency outstanding and the rates of exchange. As her bills circulated interchangeably with those of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, however, depreciation was as much a problem in Connecticut as in the rest of New England. In 1739 William Douglass wrote: "Connecticut, a charter colony of industrious husbandmen, having with much prudence emitted only small quantities of bills, silver would have been continued with them at 8s per oz., as it did in New York, their neighboring government westward, if their people had not given a currency to the public bills of their brethren in the neighboring colonies of New England."

The new tenor bills of 1740 read as follows:

> No. ( ) This bill by a law of the Colony of Connecticut shall pass current within the same for Twenty Shillings in value, equal to silver at eight shillings per ounce, Troy weight, Sterling Alloy, in all payments and in the Treasury.
>
> Hartford, May 8th, 1740.
>
> A
> B } Committee
> C

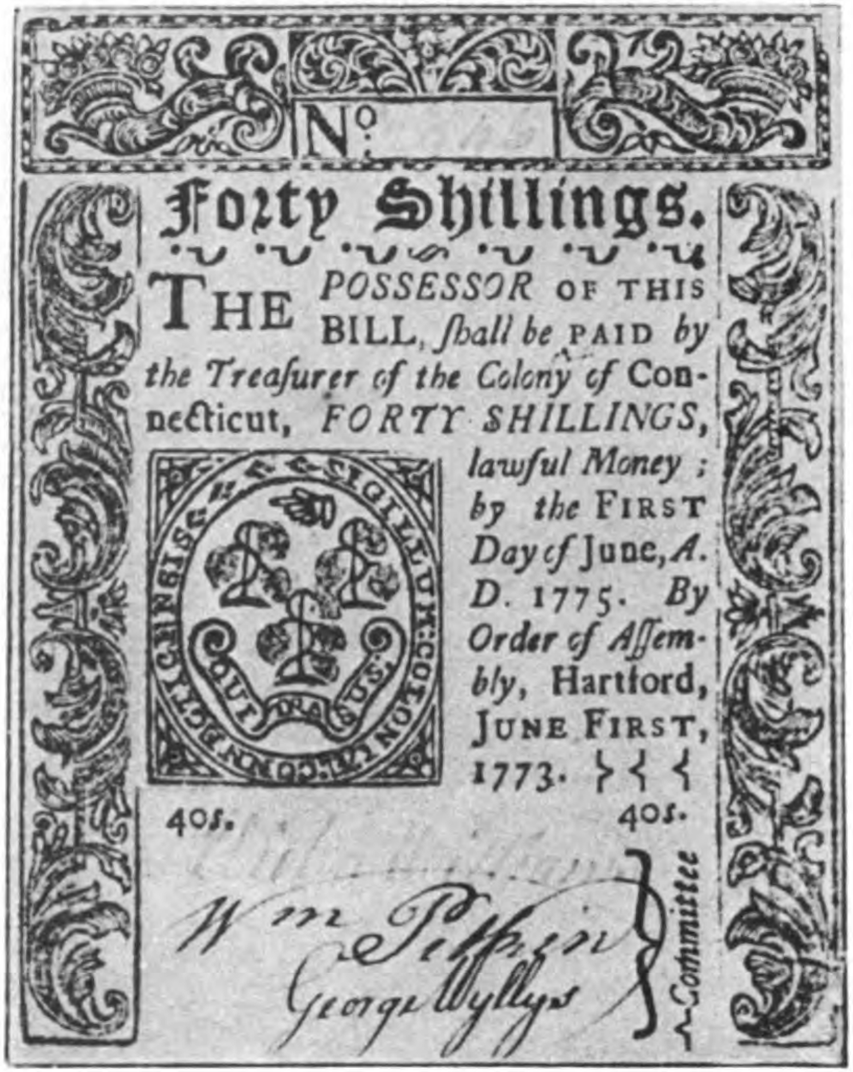
In July, 1740, the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations objected to the legal tender provision in these notes, attention being called to the fact that their use as tender at a specified value in silver violated the act adopted in the sixth year of the reign of Queen Anne "for ascertaining the rates of foreign coin in her Majesty's Plantations in America." To this censure the Connecticut Assembly in November prepared an answer, from which the following is quoted: "We do also further acquaint your Lordships that the act of May last for the emission of £30,000 bills of a new tenor which made it obligatory on all persons to take the said bills in payment of debts, dues, &c., was truly made with an honest and real intent to prevent the said bills from depreciating, which we was the rather induced to by the example of our neighboring government of New York, who, we are informed, by such an act, in a great measure have prevented their bills from discounting . . ." To overcome the objection from England the word "and" was omitted from the wording of the bills.

As elsewhere, there were rather large Connecticut emmissions in the '40's, and the new tenor bills were accepted in relation to the old in the proportion of one to three and a half. While £39,333 had been outstanding in January, 1739/40, the sum of £340,218 in Connecticut bills (old tenor) was in circulation in 1751.



[16]

Connecticut issue of 1709, the first in that colony. Engraved by Jeremiah Dummer of Boston on paper bearing a red monogram. The numerals designating the denomination of this bill have been altered to read: 30s. *Public Library of the City of Boston collection.*



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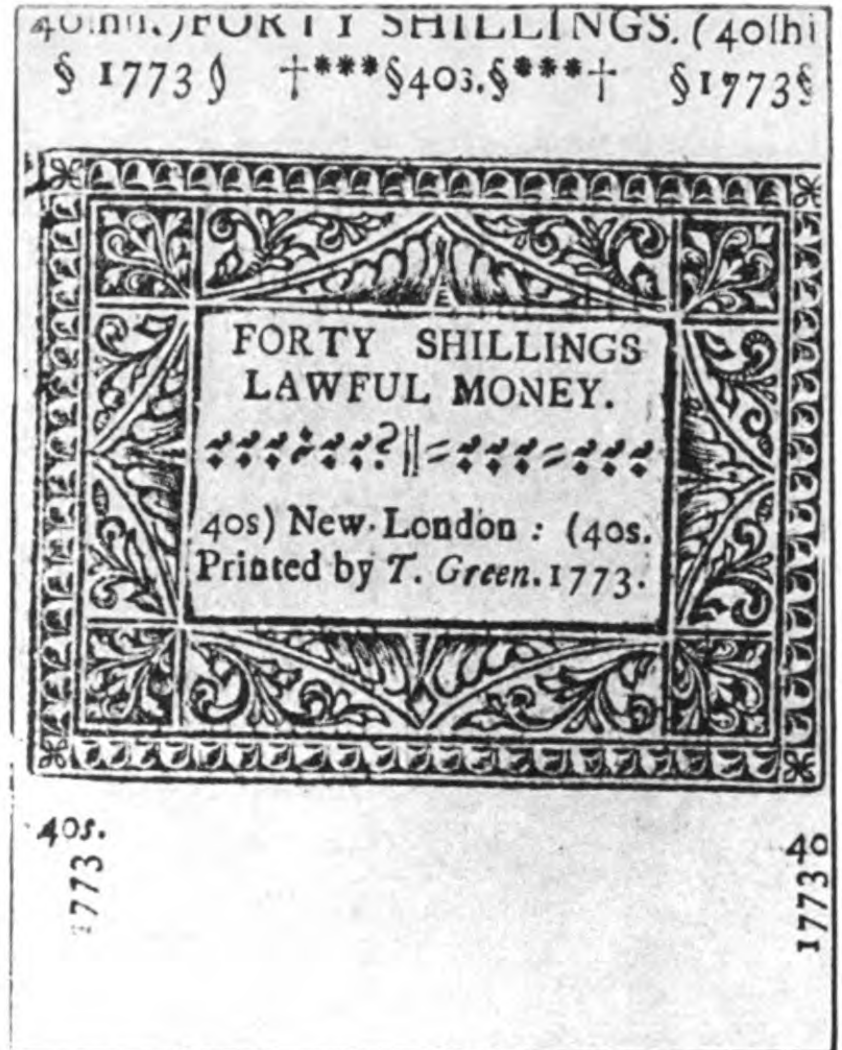


[18]

Connecticut issue of 1773. Printed by Timothy Green from type and woodcut ornaments. Bill for 40s. face c   erso. 2¾ x 3½ inche *New York Public Library collection.*

Connecticut followed the example of Massachusetts in redeeming her paper money with coin received from England to reimburse the colony for the latter's expenditures in connection with the Louisburg expedition. Connecticut bought in her paper at the rate of one ounce of silver for 58s 8d of bills (old tenor), or at a rate of 1s silver for 8s 10d paper. Like Massachusetts she did no better for the holders of her bills than to buy them in at their market value. "She measured her duty by her credit, her obligations by her own poor performances."[12]

Rhode Island seemed all the more anxious to flood New England with paper money when paper was being removed from circulation by her neighbors. The Connecticut government was displeased by this lack of co-operation, and in May, 1752, passed an act placing under ban the notes of Rhode Island.

No bills of credit were issued in the colony between 1746 and 1755, and when £62,000 in interest bearing notes were issued in the latter year they conformed to the provisions of the act passed by the British Parliament in 1751 forbidding the use of paper currency in New England except for government expenses and in case of invasion. The bills of 1755 were not emitted as legal tender, and read as follows:

[12] Bronson, Henry. *A Historical Account of Connecticut Currency* . . . New Haven, 1865.

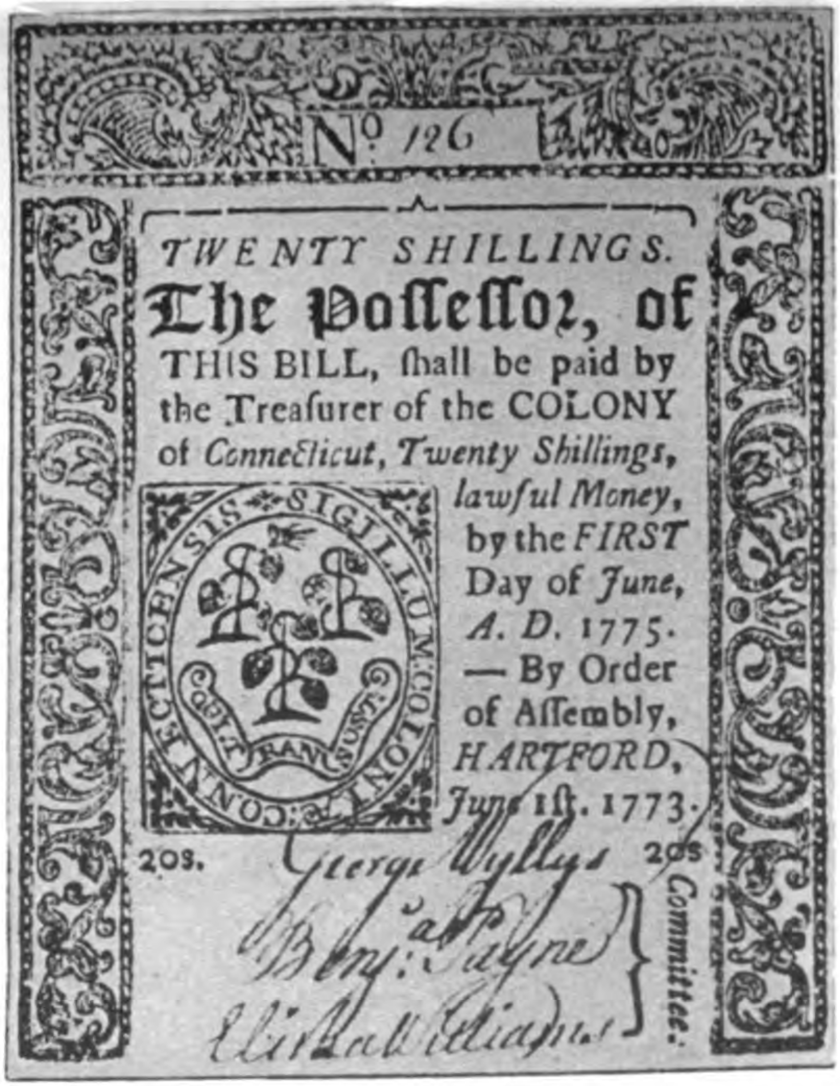
No. (   ) 20s

The Possessor of this Bill shall be paid by the Treasurer of the Colony of Connecticut, Twenty shillings, lawful money, with interest at five per cent. per annum, by the eighth day of May, 1758. By order of the Assembly at New Haven, January 8th, 1755.

About this time accounts began to be kept in what was called "lawful money" or "proclamation money."[13]

In 1770, £10,000 were issued in notes bearing interest at two and a half per cent. And in 1771, £12,000 were issued in non-interest-bearing notes, which were intended to be used as currency. Thus in 1771, after the lapse of a generation and as the Revolution approached, Connecticut resumed the emmission of legal tender paper currency. Legal tender notes in the amount of £12,000 were issued in 1773, £15,000 in 1774; and thereafter the Revolution required further large emissions.

[13]Further "lawful money" bills were issued as follows: £30,000 in 1758, £70,000 in 1759, £70,000 in 1760, £45,000 in 1761, £65,000 in 1762, £10,000 in 1763 and £7,000 in 1764. These notes were all of the same tenor, bore interest at 5 per cent, and did not depreciate. They must have been used as money by general consent.



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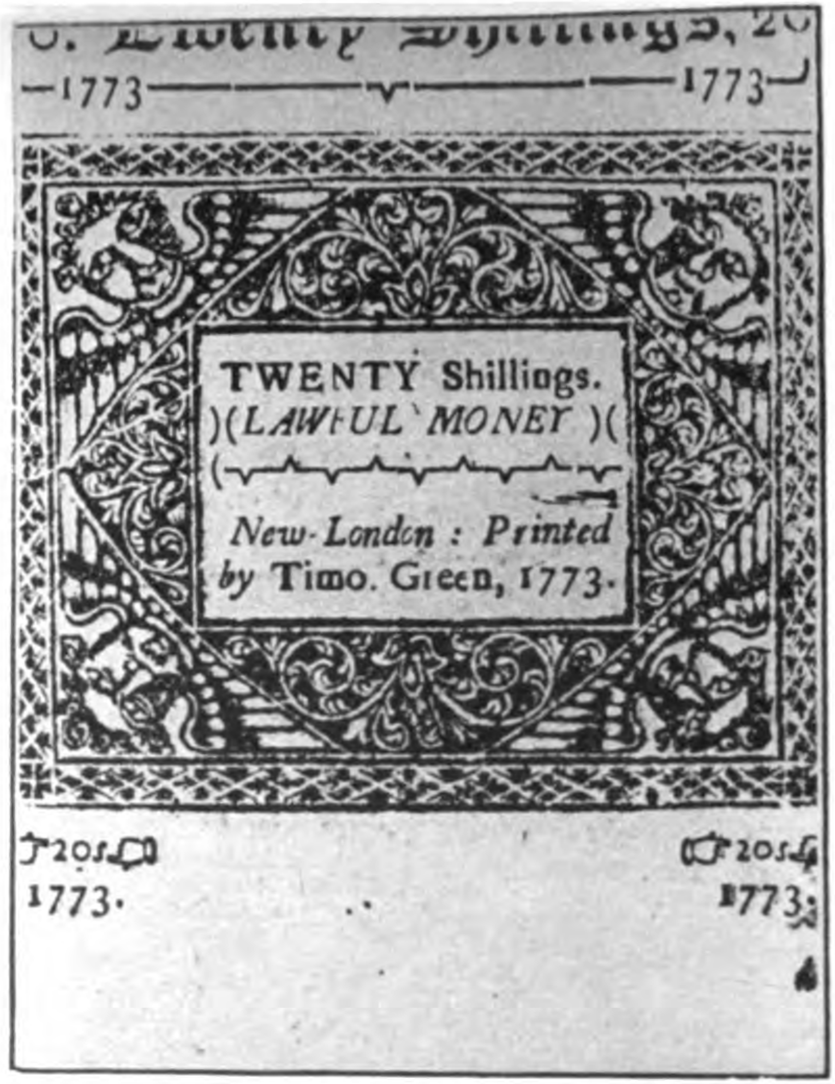
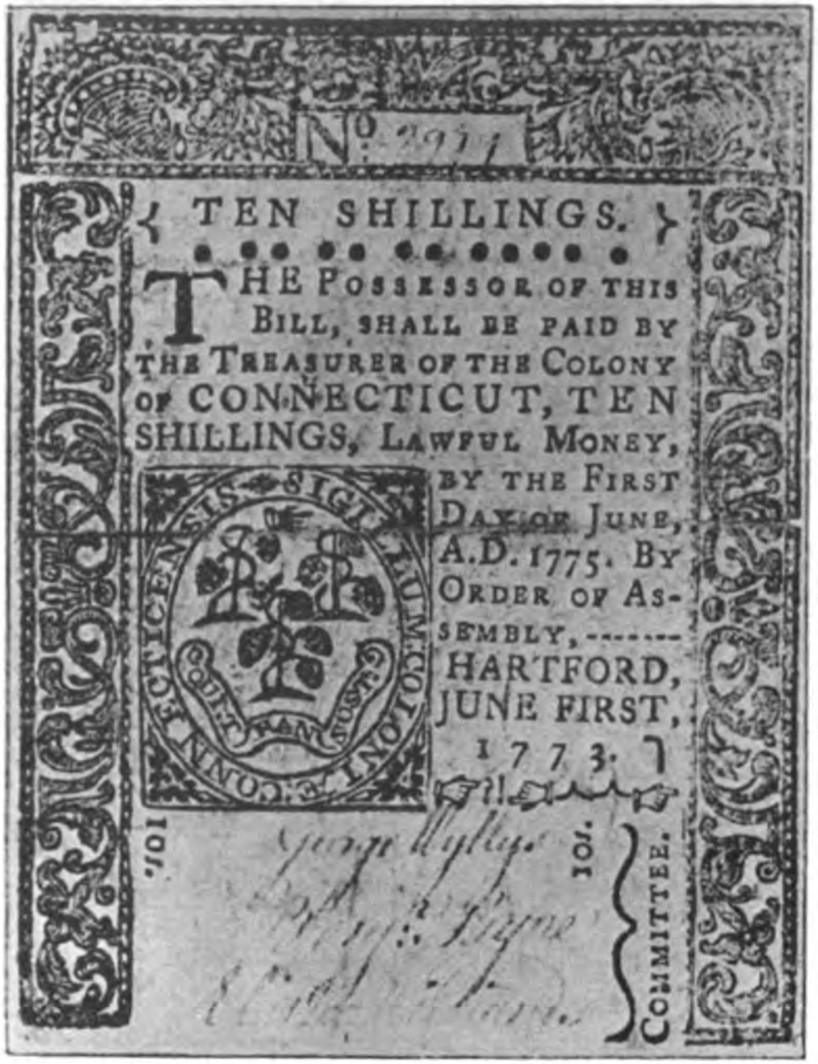


[20]

Connecticut issue of 1773. Printed by Timothy Green from type and woodcut ornaments. Bill for 20s, face and verso. 2¾ x 3½ inches. *New York Public Library collection.*



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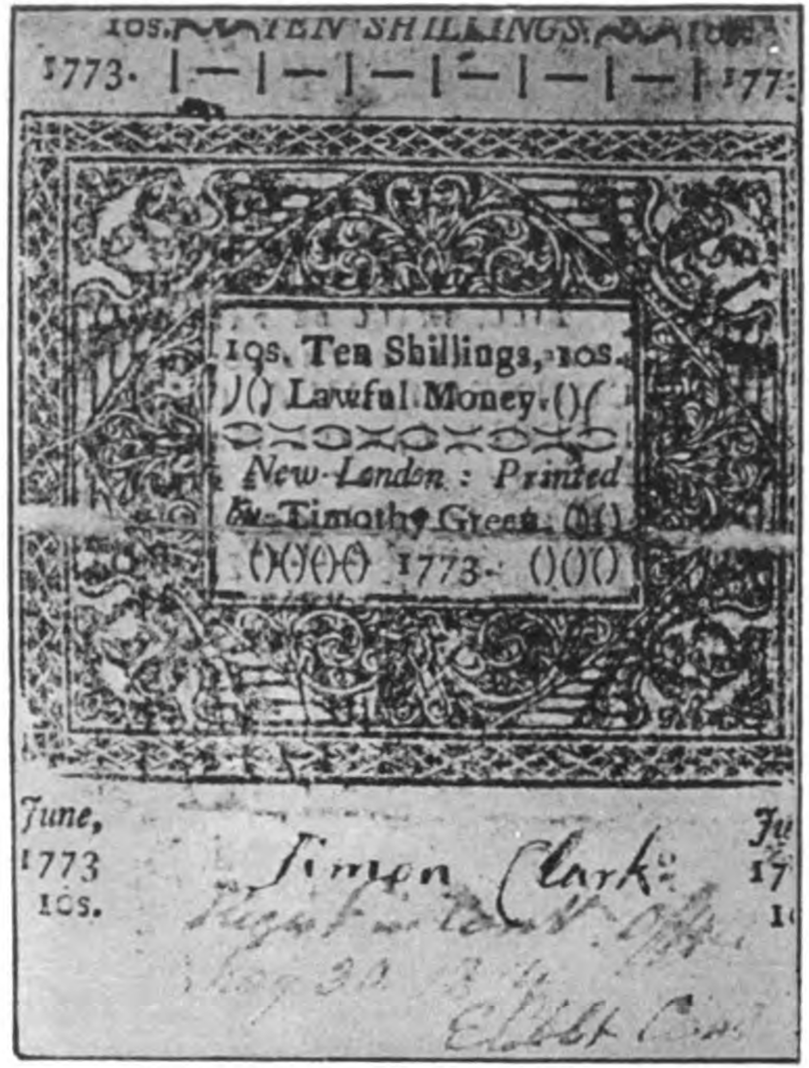


[22]

Connecticut issue of 1773. Printed by Timothy Green from type and woodcut ornaments. Bill for 10s, face and verso. 2¾ x 3½ inches. *New York Public Library collection.*

Depreciation

THE New England colonies suffered more from depreciated paper currency than did any other British North American colonies; although the depreciation of the bills issued in the Carolinas was nearly as great as that of the New England bills. The rates for New England paper currency (old tenor) at various years in the first half of the eighteenth century in exchange with London for £100 sterling have been recorded as follows:[14]

1702	£133	1737	£ 500
1705	135	1740	525
1711	140	1741	550
1713	150	1744	596
1716	175	1745	650
1717	225	1748	1,000-1,100
1722	270	1749	1,100
1728	340	1750	1,100
1730	380		

[14] William Douglass. *A Summary, Historical and Political, of the first Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present*

The depreciation of the paper currencies of various British colonies in the year 1748 is recorded[15] in the following rates of exchange for £100 sterling:

New England	£1,100	North Carolina	£1,000
New York	190	South Carolina	750
East Jerseys	190	Barbadoes	130
West Jerseys	180	Antigua	170 to 180
Pennsylvania	180	St. Christopher's	160
Maryland	200	Jamaica	140
Virginia	120 to 125		

State of the British Settlements in North-America . . . London, 1760, vol. 1, p. 494. With additions made by Elisha R. Potter in his: *A brief Account of Emissions of Paper Money made by the Colony of Rhode Island* (In: Henry Phillips. *Historical Sketches of the Paper Currency of the American Colonies . . . First Series.* Roxbury, Mass., 1865, pp. 153-154).

[15] William Douglass, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 494.

Indenting, Signing, Reinforcing, Dividing, Raising and Counterfeiting

THE earliest bills used in New England were indented, i.e. each bill was cut or torn from a stub or counterfoil. By this procedure it was of course intended to make possible the determination of the genuineness of any bill. The bills soon became torn, worn and mutilated, and the indenture was probably found to be of little practical value. The practice continued, however, for many years. The Massachusetts new tenor bills of 1737 were not required to be indented.

Having been printed, the bills had to be numbered with pen and ink, and signed, before they were placed in circulation, by members of the committee in charge of the issues, or, according to the Massachusetts law, "any three of them." Had the issues been as large as those of to-day, the signers would surely have abandoned their jobs before they were well started, on account of writers' cramp.

The paper of the early bills is said to have been

feeble. The bills were often reinforced by pieces of paper pasted on the versos. The practice of halving or quartering notes, in order to make change, was begun soon after they were first issued. The acceptance, for instance, of a quarter of a 20s bill in payment of a 5s indebtedness must have added considerably to the unsatisfactory condition of the currency. The government took steps to end this custom, but the habit was evidently a persistent one.

In many of the New England issues there was little or nothing to distinguish a bill of one denomination from that of another—except the engraved or printed amount itself. It is not surprising to know accordingly that the custom of "raising" the amounts of bills became widespread.

It was first discovered in July, 1704, that one of the Massachusetts bills, viz. the 20s note issued in 1702, had been counterfeited. At that time there was no law declaring such an act a criminal offence. Legislation adopted later in the same year provided punishment for such dishonest practice of the graphic art. The leader of the first ring of counterfeiters, after avoiding arrest two or three times, was tried, convicted and imprisoned. Innocent holders of the counterfeit bills were asked to turn them in, and were given genuine bills in exchange for them.

After this first experience with what became and still is a frequently recurring crime, the Massachusetts

authorities tried to find what further steps might be taken to safeguard the provincial currency. It was proposed to have a new "stamp" on each ten reams of paper used. The paper was imported from England and was stamped in England before shipment (i.e. printed in relief) with an "escutcheon to prevent fraud." The bills issued in 1708 and 1710 were imprinted with such escutcheons consisting of red monograms, over which the text of the bills was later printed in black from engraved plates. This added device served only to confuse the receivers of the bills and did nothing to prevent counterfeiting.

The 20s bill of 1710 was as usual signed by three members of the committee, but the middle signature was made with red ink. The practice of signing the public bills with various colored inks, introduced in this year, was continued for some time.

In November, 1713, it was found that the 10s and 3s 6d bills had been counterfeited. It was ordered that all bills of these denominations be turned in; and bills of other denominations were given in exchange. Following this misfortune it was required that four members of the committee sign each bill. Fearing further counterfeiting, it was then ordered that all torn, lined, pasted or otherwise defaced bills should be delivered to the treasury in exchange for new bills. And the public was ordered not to cover the backs of the new bills.

In February, 1717/8, when counterfeits of the £5 and £3 bills turned up, the order was issued that all bills signed by only three members of the committee be turned in by November 1, 1718. Circulation of bills bearing insufficient signatures was to have been prohibited after that date; but when it was learned that there were not enough new bills to effect exchanges, the deadline was set ahead to April 1, 1719.

A law against counterfeiting was adopted in Rhode Island in October, 1710. It was discovered in June, 1726, that the £5 and 40s notes of 1715 and 1721 had been copied, and those bills were ordered in for exchange. Since many bills had been divided for making change, it was ordered in 1737 and 1738 that torn bills be delivered to the treasury in exchange for whole ones. Penal legislation was adopted to suppress the halving and quartering of bills.

In 1743 it was enacted by the Rhode Island assembly that a person convicted of counterfeiting the bills of any New England colony was (1) to have his ears cropped, (2) be branded with an R on each cheek, (3) be imprisoned at discretion, (4) pay double damages and double interest on the amount of bills in his possession, (5) forfeit his real and personal property to the colony, and (6) if without estate be set at work or sold for a term of years. On the colony's bills of 1750 were printed the words: "Death to counterfeit this bill."

For the Connecticut issue of 1709 the words "in all public payments" were through carelessness omitted in engraving the plates. An act passed by the legislature in 1710 attempted to rectify this defect. In 1713, however, the colony was flooded with bills on which the amounts had been raised. New bills were issued to retire those outstanding, and in the new issue the words "in all public payments" were deliberately omitted.

The custom of halving and quartering bills was prevalent in Connecticut as elsewhere. Enactments were made by the colony's legislature in 1726 and 1736 intended to end this practice, but it is doubtful that the laws were successful.

In the 1710's and 1720's, the Connecticut authorities, like those of the other colonies, had an unhappy time with counterfeiters, and there was difficulty in inducing the public to turn in old bills for new ones when the latter were issued to check the activities of the public enemies. By 1724 counterfeiting became such a menace that the General Court imposed more drastic penalties for the crime. Formerly offenders might be made to stand "in the pillory three several lecture days," or might be imprisoned for as much as six months. After 1724 counterfeiters were liable to be branded on the forehead with the letter C, have their right ears cut off, be confined in a workhouse for life, and have their estates forfeited.

In the second half of the eighteenth century it was frequently stated on American bills that counterfeiters would be put to death. But the crime continued.

Engraving, Printing and General Appearance of the Notes

ALTHOUGH letter-press printing had been carried on in Massachusetts since 1639, it evidently did not seem desirable to the officials of any of the New England colonies before the 1720's to have the bills of public credit printed from type.

In seventeenth-century Massachusetts there was a demand for fine silverware, and in Boston a group of silversmiths catered to this taste by producing beautiful plates, tankards, teapots and other vessels. These craftsmen frequently engraved names and other inscriptions on the silver pieces they produced; and when accordingly they were commissioned to engrave copperplates from which impressions were to be taken in ink, they had already developed the necessary technique. Among the Boston silversmiths of this period were John Hull (1624-1683), his pupil, Jeremiah Dummer (1645-1718), and the latter's brother-in-law, John Coney, or Conny (1655-1722).

In 1702, Coney was commissioned to engrave three copperplates from which the old tenor bills of that year were printed for the province of Massachusetts Bay; and among the disbursements of the province, under date of March 12, 1702/3, there is an entry recording the payment of thirty pounds to Coney for "engraving 3 plates." It is recorded also that Harvard College paid him £2-2-6 on April 3, 1693 "for a seal for the use of the Colledge." There is apparently no known record of the name of the engraver of the Massachusetts notes of 1690, but the style of the engraving employed in the latter is similar to that found in the 1702 notes, and it is a not unreasonable assumption that Coney engraved the earlier notes.

It has been claimed that a certain *Mapp of the Rariton River* was engraved in New York by R. Simon in 1683, and that this was the first copperplate engraving made in British North America. Not only the date assigned to this engraving has been disputed, however, but the claim that it was made and printed on our side of the Atlantic has been brought into serious question. If the map was engraved and printed in England, as seems likely, then the engravings of the Massachusetts bills of 1690 may well be the first examples of the art executed in the British colonies.

The old tenor bills of Massachusetts were engraved

on three plates as follows: what was called the "lowest" plate contained two engravings of the 2s note and two of the 2s 6d note; the "middle" plate bore the engravings (one each) for the notes of 40s, 20s, 10s and 5s. The "great" plate probably had the designs of the £5 and £3 notes and two for the 20s note.

Additional plates were engraved for the province by Coney in 1711; and he may have made the design for an 18d bill, the first of this denomination, issued in 1713.

The engraving of the original Connecticut bills, issued in 1709, is believed to be the work of Jeremiah Dummer of Boston. It is interesting to note that the first Connecticut press was set up in the same year by Thomas Short in New London, and that the first item printed by him was *An Act [for Making and Emitting Bills of Publick Credit]*, passed by the Connecticut Assembly on June 8, 1709.

It is not known who engraved the early Rhode Island notes. But according to Elisha R. Potter,[16] Samuel Vernon of Newport, who was admitted in 1714 as a freeman of the colony, *printed* the large emission of that colony's bills issued in 1715, and received the sum of £200 for his services. One of the original copperplates used in printing this issue was still in existence in 1880. If this work was done in

[16] *Some Account of the Bills of Credit or Paper Money of Rhode Island* . . . Providence . . . 1880, p. 14.

Rhode Island in 1715, the introduction of copperplate printing in the Colony antedated that of letterpress printing by at least a dozen years. The first Rhode Island printing from type was performed by James Franklin (brother of Benjamin Franklin) at Newport in 1727.

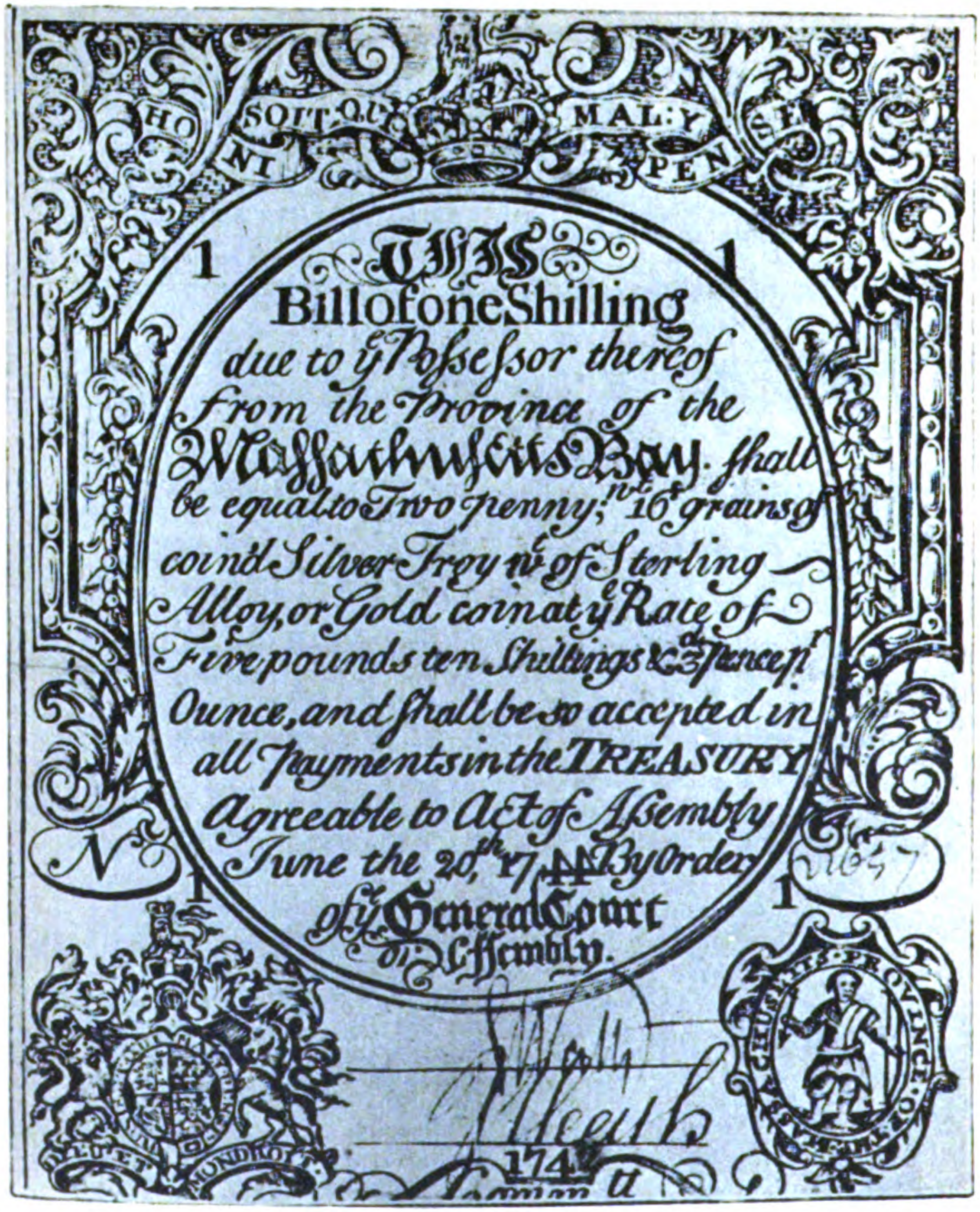
William Claggett (cir. 1696-1749), a clockmaker, was engaged to impress the bills of the sixth Rhode Island bank in 1738.

The first New England money printed from type was probably the special Massachusetts emission of fractional currency on parchment issued in 1722. The units of this issue were mere tokens, bearing neither certificate of indebtedness nor promise of payment and containing no signature. They were printed in the amounts of 1d, 2d and 3d. In shape the 1d tokens were round, those for 2d square and those for 3d hexagonal.

In 1728 James Franklin petitioned the Rhode Island Assembly, urging that the colony's currency be printed in relief from ornaments, etc., cast from engraved models. He claimed that it would be much more difficult to counterfeit the bills he recommended than those printed from copperplates. He believed in 1728 that it was a harder task to duplicate type ornaments and characters than successfully to imitate copperplates, since, he claimed, it was possible for the engraver-counterfeiter continually to

[23]

Designs for the Massachusetts fractional currency emitted in 1737. Printed from type and woodcuts. From: *Acts and Laws of His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, p. 625.



Massachusetts third new tenor issue of 1744. The face (here shown) was printed from a copperplate, and the verso from type and a woodcut border. Note that in the text of the bill the engraver reversed the two fours in 1744. 3¾ x 4⅞ inches. *New York Public Library collection.*

retouch and perfect his plates. Franklin's petition was denied.

Nat Mors (i.e. Nathaniel Morse) signed an account in 1735 for engraving plates for Massachusetts currency of that year, and it is accordingly concluded that he did the engraving. Little is known of this craftsman; his obituary, however, in the *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Journal* of June 21, 1748, refers to him as "an ingenious engraver."

The new tenor bills of Massachusetts issued in 1736/7 were of the following denominations: 10d, 1s 8d, 3s 4d, 6s 8d, 10s, 20s, 30s and 40s. The reason for some of the odd amounts in bills of lower value was that they were silver certificates, the bill for 6s 8d representing the value of one ounce of silver, and that of 3s 4d a half ounce. Before 1736, the height of all Massachusetts bills of credit had been greater than the width. Now the width was greater, so that in that respect the new bills looked more like our currency of to-day.

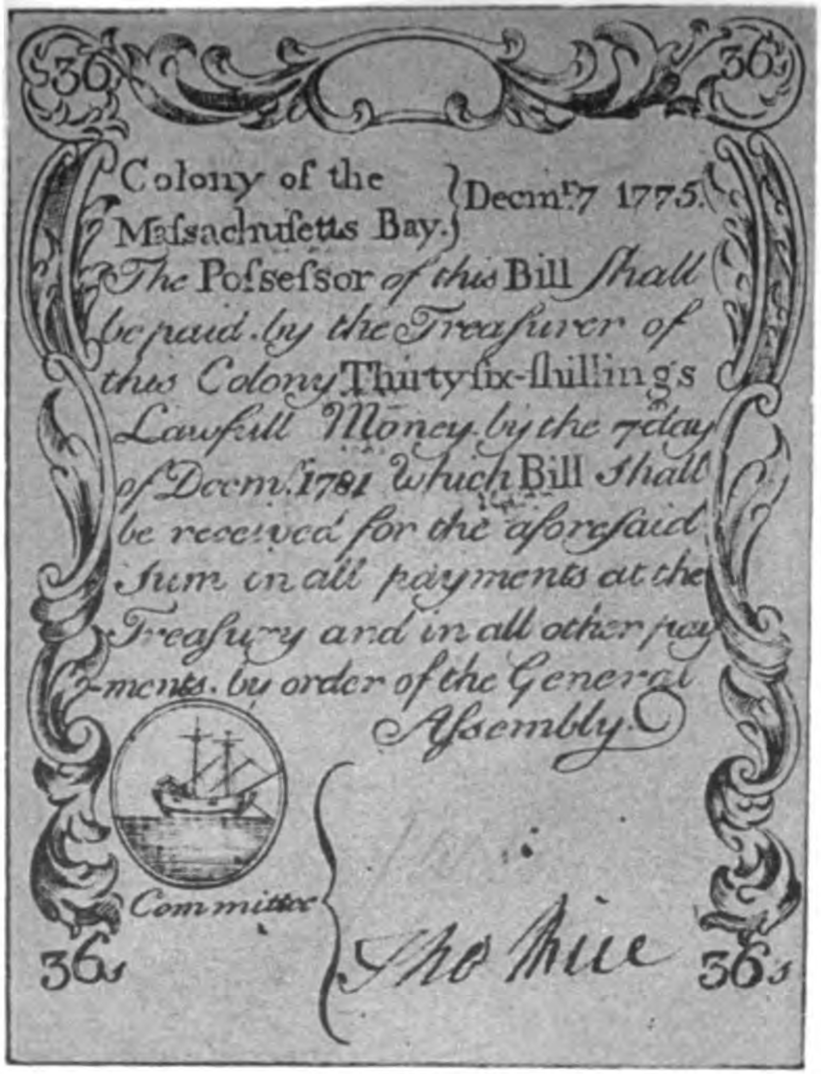
On July 2, 1737, it was ordered that 30,000 bills of each of the following denominations be printed: 1d, 2d, 3d, 4d, 5d and 6d. These fractional bills were printed from type; and the bills of each denomination had a border of a different design surrounding the text. The borders appear to have been printed from woodcuts. None of the small-change currency of this issue bore signatures.

The second new tenor notes of Massachusetts authorized in January 1741/2 were printed from three engraved plates as follows: on the first plate were engraved bills for 40s, 30s, 20s and 15s; on the second plate those of 10s, 5s, 4s and 3s; and on the third plate bills for 2s, 1s, 8d, 6d, 4d and 2d. The engraving of the first and second new tenor issues was of high quality. The bills of the second new tenor issue, reverting to the old form, were higher than they were wide. The faces of these notes were printed, as stated, from engraved plates, but the versos were printed from type. The values in both new and old tenor were indicated on the versos.

On June 20, 1744, the third and last form of Massachusetts new tenor bills was adopted. New plates were not made for this issue, the necessary changes having been made on the old ones.

In January, 1749/50, the advisability of printing more fractional currency was urged, the following denominations having been recommended: 18d, 9d, 6d, 4½d, 3d and 1d. It is believed that only a negligible part of the authorized amount of this small-change currency was ever placed in circulation. At this time the public preferred a base Spanish coin for small change.

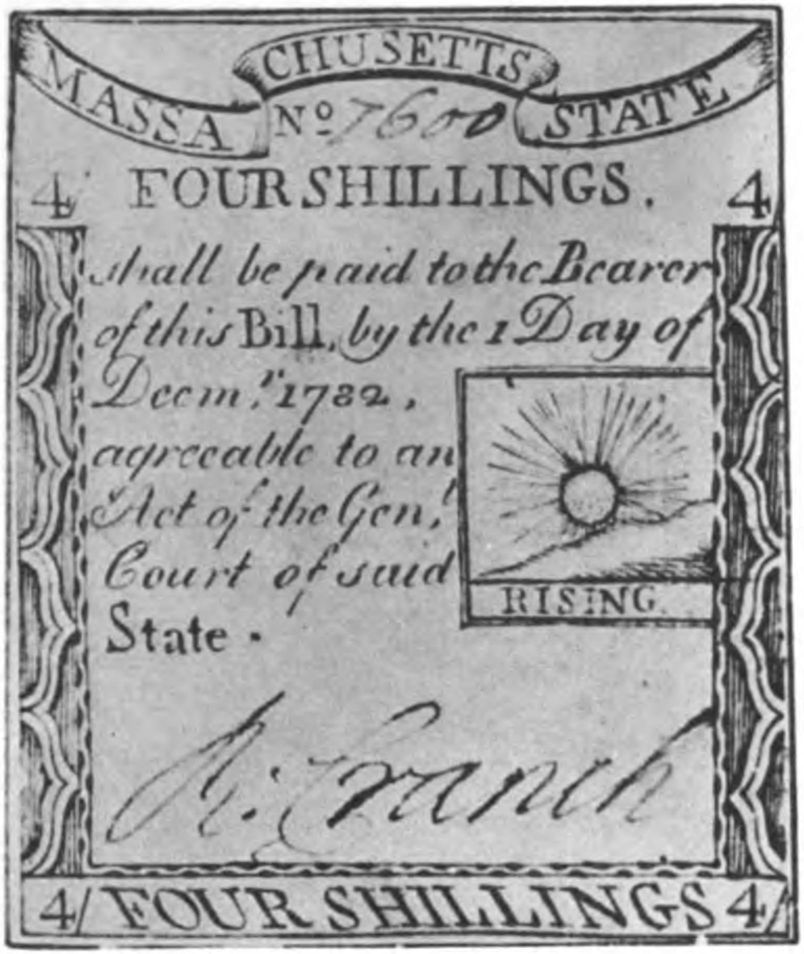
As noted above, paper money was not used extensively in Massachusetts in the 1750's and 1760's. When, however, the Provincial Congress, elbowed



[25]

[26]

Massachusetts issue of 1775, engraved by Paul Revere. Bill for 36s, face and verso. Called "Sword in Hand" money from figure on verso. 2⅞ x 3¾ inches. *New York Public Library collection.*



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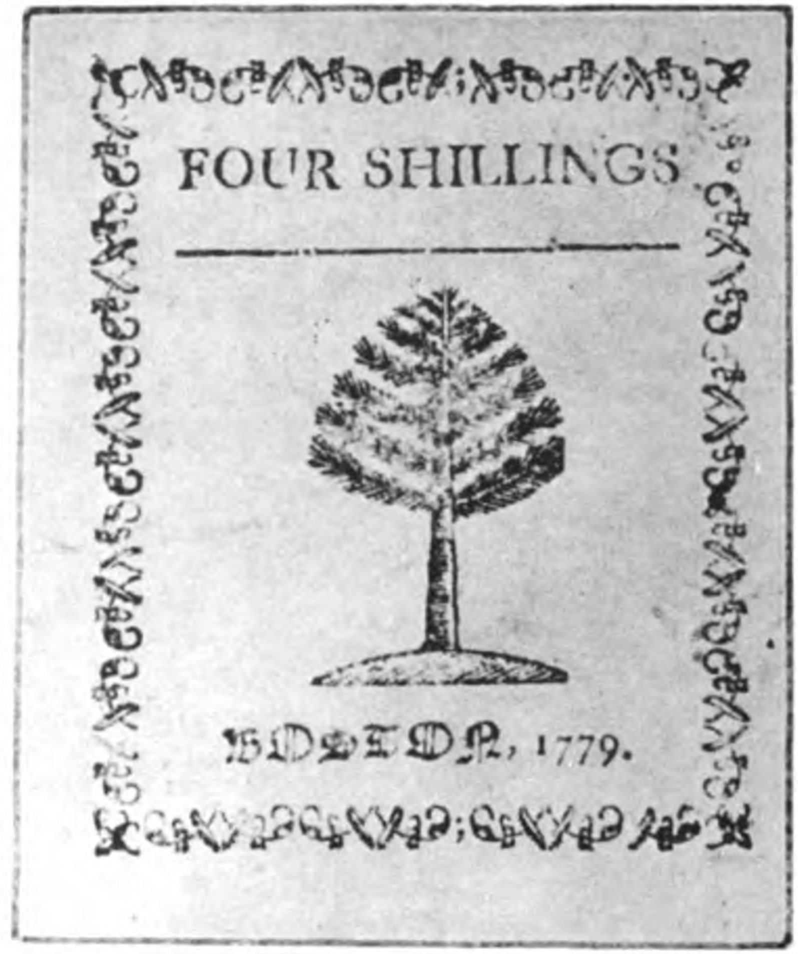


[28]

Massachusetts issue of 1779. Bill for 4s, face and verso. Engraved on face; partly typographic on verso. 2½ x 3 inches. *New York Public Library collection.*

out of Boston, met at Watertown in 1775, its members realized the need for large new issues of currency. Paul Revere, the patriot silversmith, engraver and horseback rider, was engaged to engrave and print new issues of Massachusetts notes. On May 3, 1775, the Congress voted an emission of £4 notes, and on May 20 it voted to issue "soldier's notes" in the following denominations: 6s, 9s, 10s, 12s, 14s, 15s, 16s, 18s and 20s. Not long after his famous ride of April 18, 1775, Revere set up his tools and press (smuggled out of Boston) at the Cook House in Watertown. Benjamin Edes, domiciled in the same house, had brought his press from Boston by rowboat. Revere was urged to turn out the money at top speed. He cut designs for bills on the versos of some of his old plates: his famous "Sword in Hand" design was cut on the back of the plate used for his "View of Boston," and the verso of his "Boston Massacre" plate was also used for engraving colony money. On June 22 Revere submitted the following bill for his work done as the result of the Congress vote of May 2:

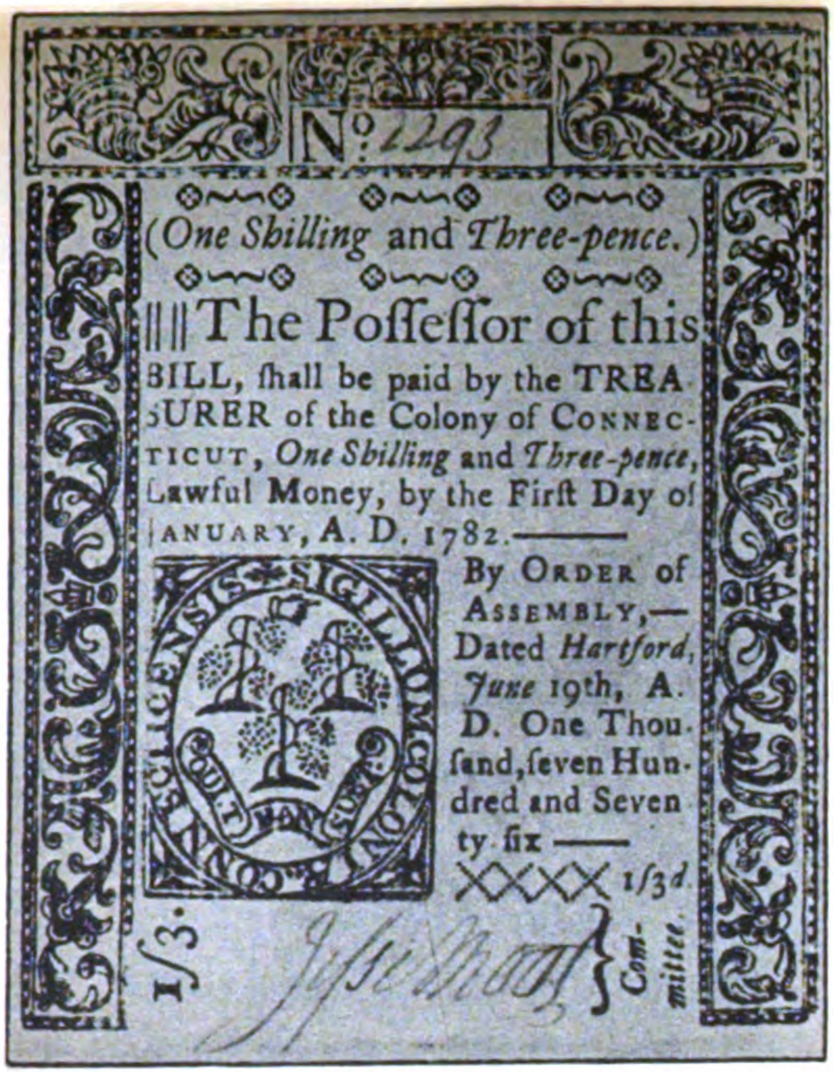
The Colony of the Massachusetts Bay
To Paul Revere D^r^

1775	To Engraving four Copper plates	
June 22	for Colony Noets at £6 each	£24,0.
	To printing 14,500 Impressions	
	at £3,6,8 p^r^ Thousand	£48,6,8.
		£72,6,8.

It is recorded that Revere received only £50 of the total entered in this invoice. He not only engraved and printed Massachusetts notes, ranging from 6s to £4, but was also engaged to engrave the first notes to be issued in the name of the Continental Congress.

No New England bills issued prior to the 1770's that have come to the author's attention bear the names of their engravers or printers. When the Revolution came and with it the demand for unprecedented quantities of paper currency, typography was employed more than ever before in the printing of New England bills of credit. Bills issued by "Massachusetts State" in 1776 (engraved on the face and printed from type on the verso) contain the statement: "Printed by John Gill." Gill (1732-1785) had formed a partnership with Benjamin Edes and in 1755 began publication of the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*. In politics this paper was radical and anti-British, and its office, a gathering place for patriot leaders, was the rendezvous from which the Boston Tea Party set forth. It was appropriate that Gill should have printed the Massachusetts money of 1776; after the Revolution he became official printer to the State.

Connecticut issues of 1770, 1771, 1773, 1775, 1776 and 1780 record that they were printed at New London by Timothy Green, member of an old family of printers and editors. These notes were typo-



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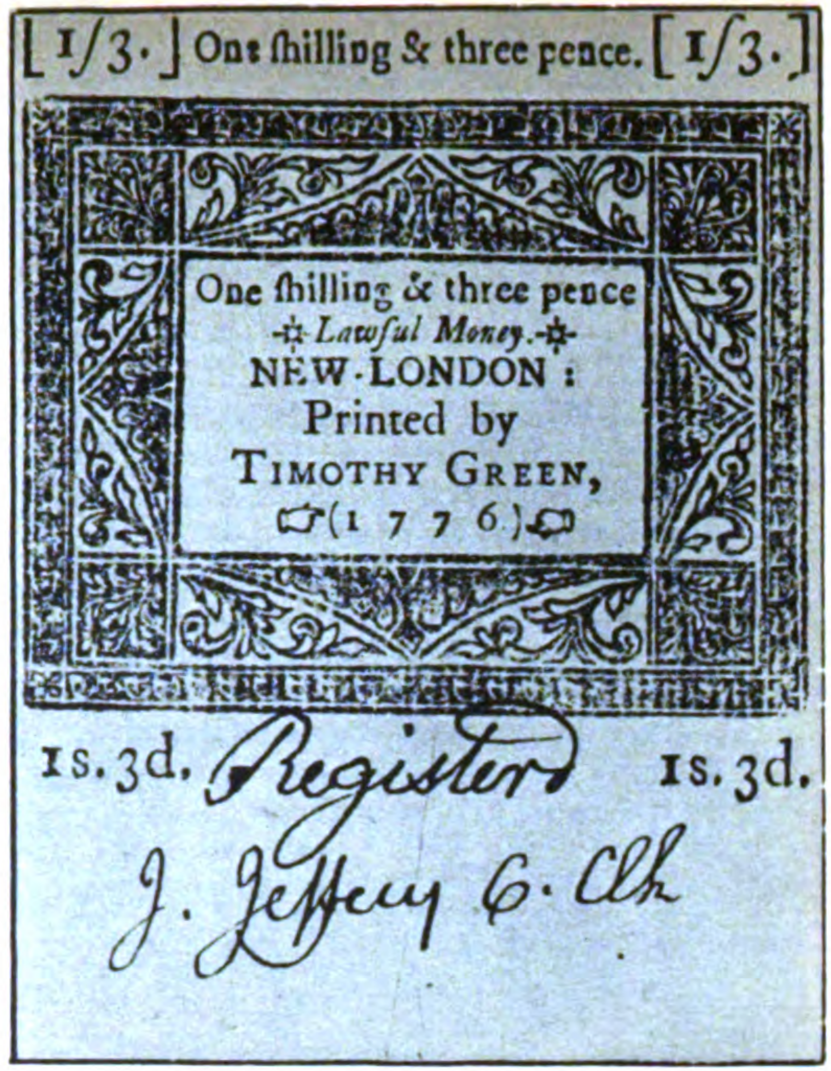
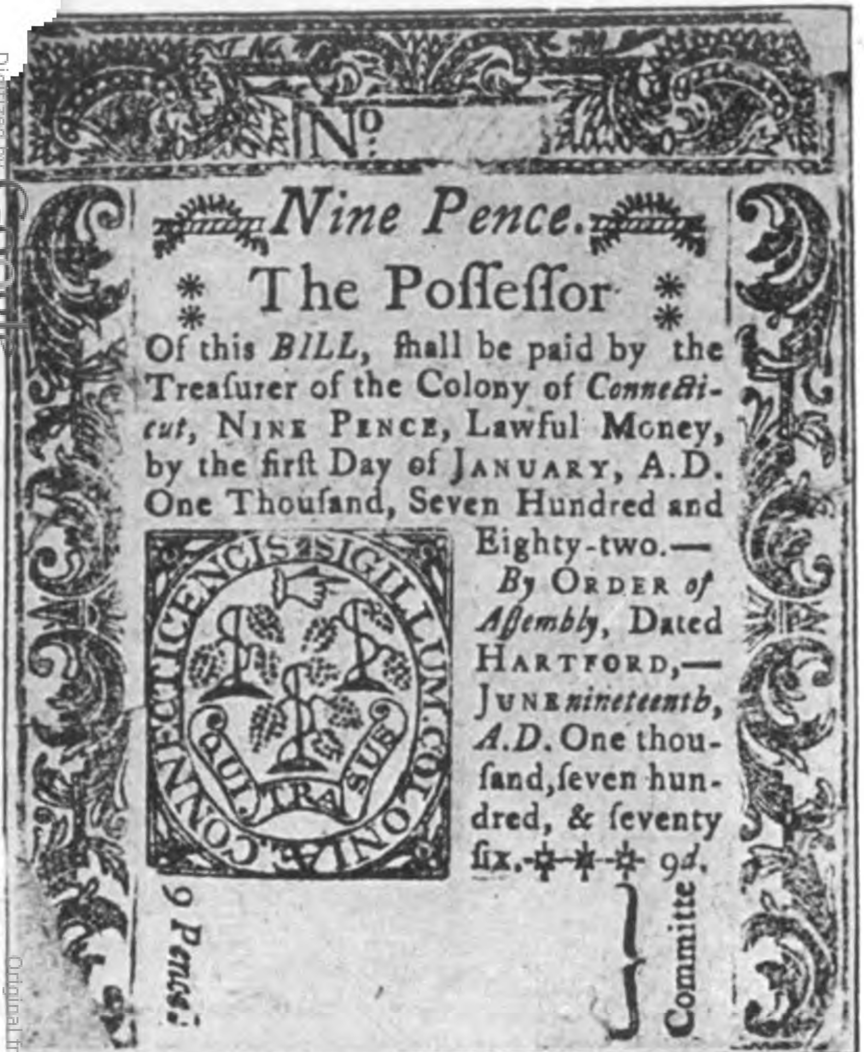


[30]

Connecticut issue of 1776. Printed by Timothy Green from type and woodcut ornaments. Bill for 1s, 3d, face and verso. 2 ¾ x 3 ½ inches. *New York Public Library collection.*



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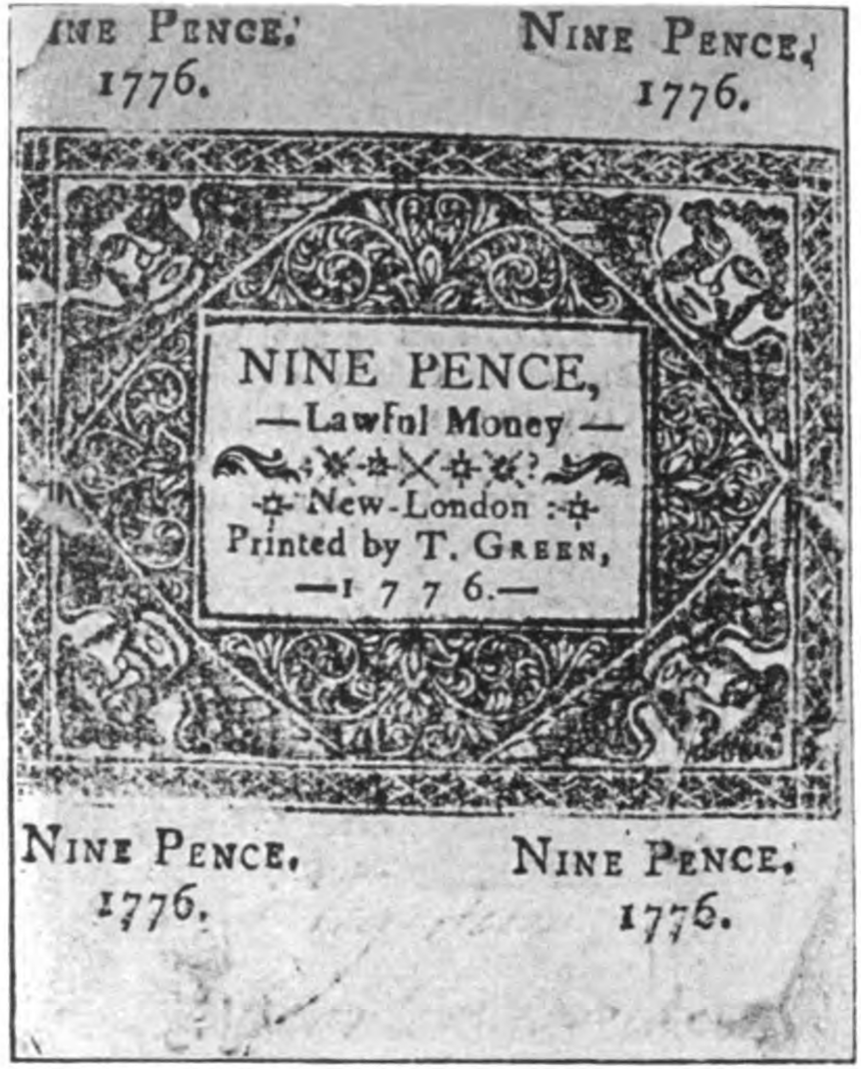


[32]

Connecticut issue of 1776. Printed by Timothy Green from type and woodcut ornaments. Bill for 9d, face and verso. 2¾ x 3½ inches. *New York Public Library collection.*

graphic on both sides, and some of the examples seen by the writer must have been printed on damp paper as the type impressions are deeply sunk. Most of the Connecticut bills of the 70's have what appear to be woodcut borders. The impressions of the borders are light and flat as compared with those from type.

There was a special issue of Connecticut fractional bills in 1777. These small notes for small amounts (2d, 3d, 4d, 5d and 7d) were printed on heavy paper and were evidently not intended as "folding money." The printing is on one side only, and the ornaments as well as the text are typographic. The name of the printer is not recorded.

John Carter's name is entered as printer on the Rhode Island bills of 1775 and 1776. Until the 70's the Rhode Island bills had perhaps been entirely engraved. Carter (1745-1814) was born in Philadelphia and was apprenticed to the famous firm of Benjamin Franklin and David Hall. He was proprietor, editor and printer of the *Providence Gazette*, 1768-1814, and from 1772 to 1792 postmaster of Providence. The *Gazette* supported the Revolutionary cause; and although it was opposed to the paper money party, its proprietor accepted the contract for printing the currency of 1775-1776 according to which he was to receive 1s 4d for every hundred bills printed. The State of Rhode Island issue of 1780 was printed by B. Wheeler; and the final issue, the tenth Rhode

Island bank of 1786, was printed by Southwick & Barber, i.e. Solomon Southwick (1731-1797) and Henry Barber (died 1800). The 1786 issue is typographic with woodcut borders, and bills of the lower denominations have blank versos.

It is said that previous to 1756 all the New Hampshire bills of credit were printed in Boston. In that year Daniel Fowle (1715-1787), following his ill-treatment in Massachusetts, removed to Portsmouth and became the official printer of New Hampshire and in fact the first printer of that Province. He began publishing the *New Hampshire Gazette*, and printed some of the provincial currency. In 1775 the New Hampshire notes were printed on one side only from typographic letters and ornaments.

Vermont bills of 1781 bear on the versos: "Death to counterfeit. Westminster. Printed by Spooner and Green." Timothy Green, printer of some of the Connecticut notes, formed a partnership with his brother-in-law, Judah Paddack Spooner, and set up a press in Westminster, Vermont, in 1780. They published the *Vermont Gazette, or Green Mountain Post-Boy*, and printed the state currency. Spooner had been in the Battle of Bunker Hill and was later held by the British as a prisoner of war.

Until the American Revolution the currency of some of the colonies regularly contained the royal arms with the motto, "Honi soit qui mal y pense."

The seal or device of the issuing colony also frequently appeared on colonial bills of credit.

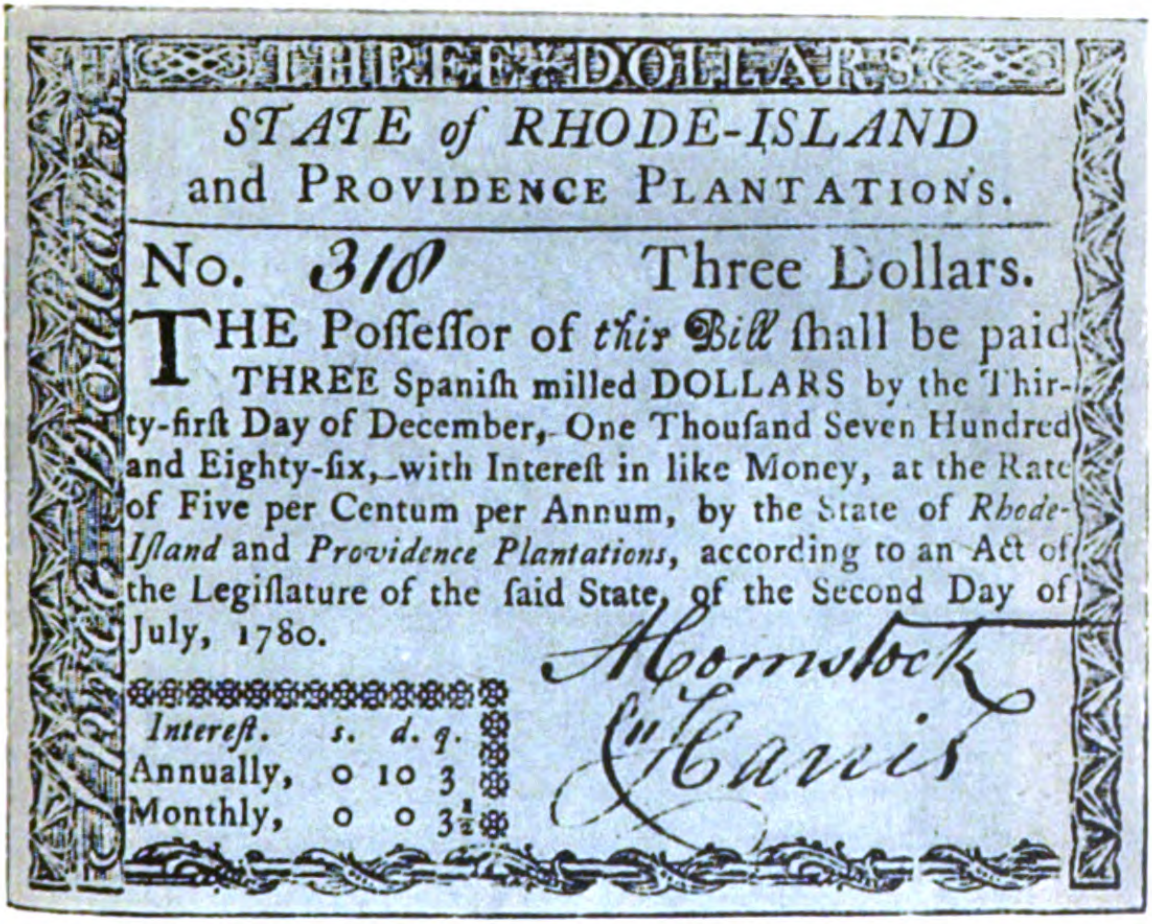
Massachusetts bills of 1775, engraved by Paul Revere, on both sides, bear on the verso a striking representation of a soldier with a sword in his right hand and a copy of Magna Carta in his left, and the following inscription: "Issued in defence of American liberty. Ense petit placidam. sub Libertate. Quietem." These were known as the "Sword in Hand" notes. Massachusetts notes of 1782 contain on their face (engraved) a picture of a rising sun with the inscription, "RISING," and on the verso (typographic) a picture of a pine tree and a typographic border.

Besides the royal arms and motto, various New Hampshire notes contain, among others, representations of a fish (cod?), a pine tree, a deer with enormous antlers or an Indian with bow and arrow.

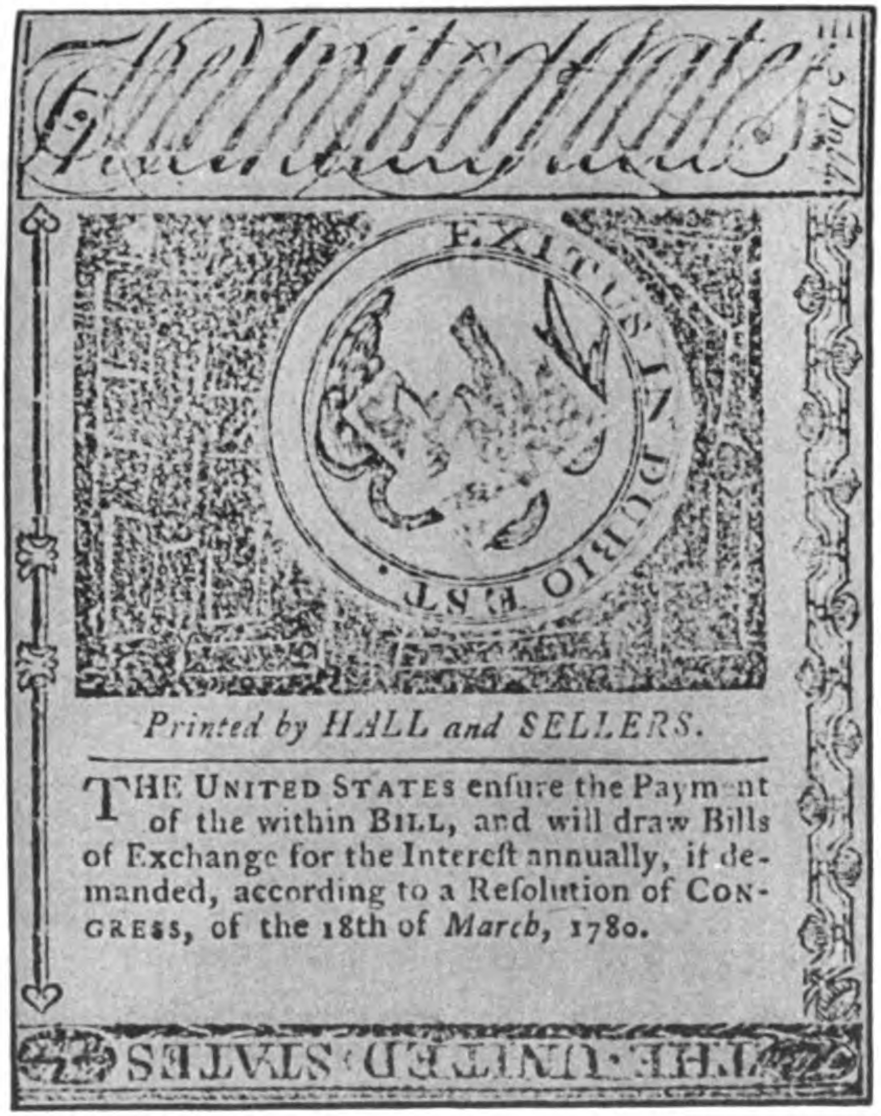
Bills issued in 1780 by "the State of Massachusetts-Bay," "the State of New Hampshire," and the "State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations" were printed by Hall and Sellers of Philadelphia. These bills of the three states, printed in red and black, partly from type and partly apparently from woodcuts, were similar in design, and were issued for various amounts in dollars. The Connecticut notes through 1780 at least continued to be issued for sums in shillings.

Hall and Sellers printed typographic currency for "The United Colonies" in 1775, 1776 and 1777, and for "The United States" in 1777 and after. The issues authorized by the Continental Congress, known as Continental currency, were of such large quantities and with so little security that their depreciation reached unprecedented proportions (500 to 1 in May, 1781) and gave rise to the expression, "Not worth a Continental."

While the use of paper money in the colonies was unsatisfactory in many ways and its use during the Revolution was catastrophic, the bills had nevertheless many desirable qualities, and their worldwide use in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries show that "folding money" is here to stay.



Rhode Island issue of 1780. Printed by Hall and Sellers of Philadelphia from type, woodcut borders, etc. Face of bill for $3. 3¾ x 2⅞ inches. *New York Public Library collection.*



[34]

Rhode Island issue of 1780. Verso of foregoing note; part of the verso is printed in red.

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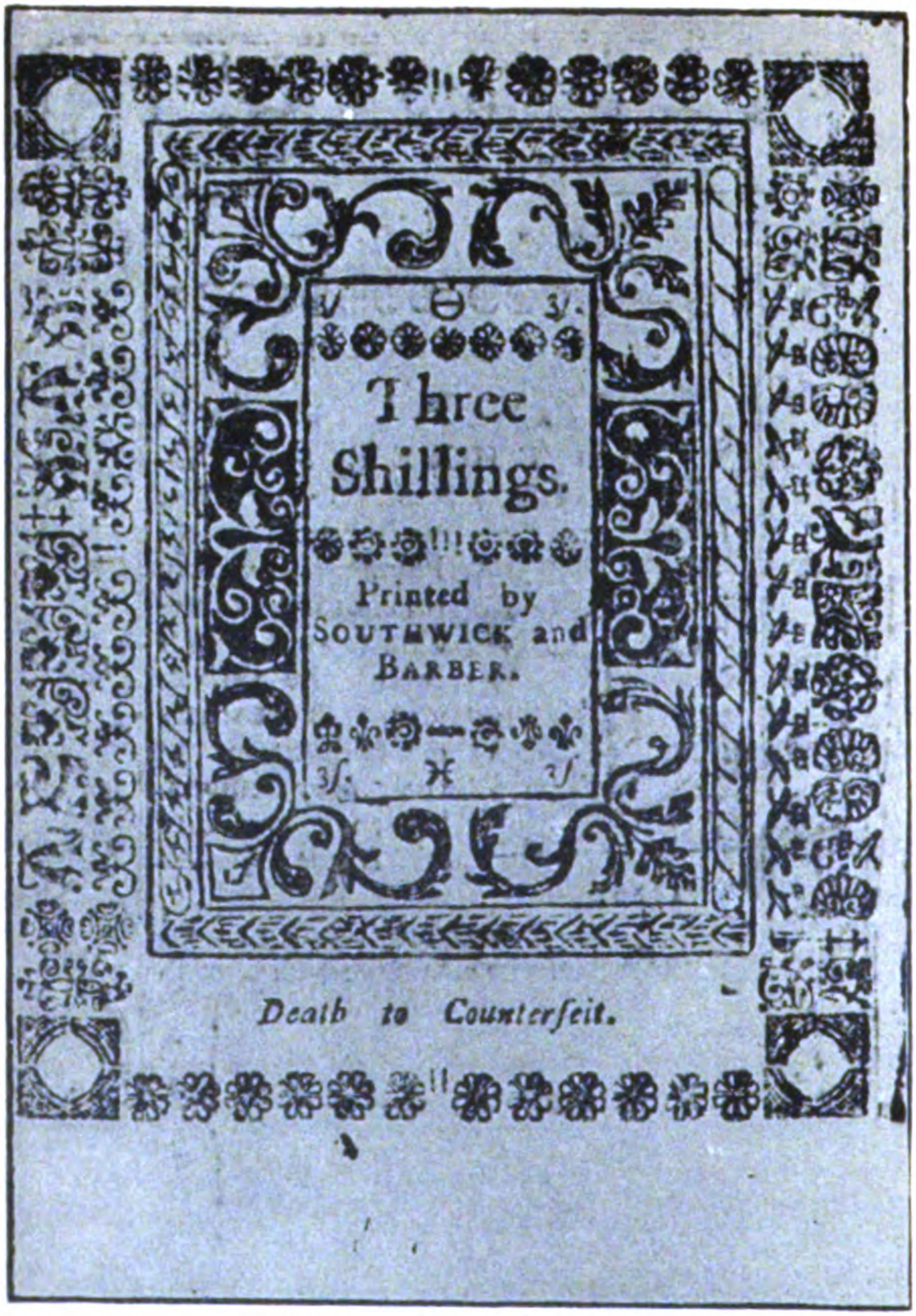
Rhode Island issue of 1786. Printed by Southwick and Barber from type and woodcut borders. Bill for 3s. 3 x 4¼ inches. *New York Public Library collection.*



[36]

Rhode Island issue of 1786. Verso of foregoing note.

A Note on this book and its Author

Much of the fun of Typophile projects comes from seeing them flower from modest beginnings. The fellowship and associations that make them possible, the problems faced along the path—all are rewarding experiences and contribute to the satisfaction of watching the seed germinate.

Looking back to the Spring of 1940, when this book was conceived, I recall the initial discussion at Hawthorn House, the Windham, Connecticut, home and printing office of Edmund B. Thompson. Ned, Harold Hugo and myself planned a text emphasizing the design and typography of colonial currency, agreed to confine it to the New England colonies and include representative specimens in collotype reproduction. The aid of Paul Alcorn, then librarian at the University of Connecticut Library, in nearby Storrs, was enlisted for research and writing.

After studying material in various collections, including the American Antiquarian Society and the Massachusetts Historical Society, Mr. Alcorn reported slight progress many months later: "I have

made many inquiries from men like Lawrence Wroth and Mr. Bates, former librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society, and they are agreed that material for such a thing is very difficult to find, since printers left few records, and, if they did, no one thought them of any importance. This thing does not want to be taken up from the standpoint of the economics involved in the issuing of paper money but rather of typographical interest. . . ."

* * *

Pearl Harbor and war changed the plans of many of us—brought new responsibilities, new opportunities. The development of this project again is a reminder that many minds and hands contribute to the building of each Chap Book.

When George L. McKay undertook the assignment to unravel the snarls of colonial currency for us, he had been curator of the Grolier Club for more than two decades, and permanent secretary of the Bibliographical Society of America since 1940. He is an Ohioan—born in Columbus Grove in 1895—spent most of his childhood in Toledo, attended the College of Wooster, 1914-1916, then joined the United States Army, where he served for two years.

He continued his education at the University of Paris in 1919, and received his A.B. degree at the University of Chicago a year later. He next taught Latin and French at the Perrysburg High School,

Ohio, for a year, then became assistant to the European director of the Junior American Red Cross in Paris, 1921-22. Returning to the United States, he attended the Library School of the New York Public Library for a year's study before becoming curator of the Grolier Club.

Mr. McKay has written many articles and reviews for the *New York Herald Tribune Book Review*, *The Library Journal*, *The Publishers' Weekly*, and *The Colophon*. He is the author and compiler of a number of bibliographies, including *Catalogue of the Collection of Engravings in the University Club*, New York, 1926, 78 pp.; *A Bibliography of the Writings of Sir Rider Haggard*, London, the Bookman's Journal, 1930, 110 pp.; *A Bibliography of Robert Bridges*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1933, 227 pp.; *American Book Auction Catalogues, 1713-1934, A Union List*, New York, the New York Public Library, 1937, 572 pp.; *Additions and Corrections to the Haggard Bibliography* (with J. E. Scott), London, the Mitre Press, 1939, 28 pp.; *A Register of Artists, Engravers, Booksellers, Bookbinders, Printers and Publishers in New York City*, 1633-1820, New York, the New York Public Library, 1942, 78 pp. His most recent compilation is "A Bibliography of the Published Writings of Harry Miller Lydenberg," 22 pages, in *Bookmen's Holiday, Notes and Studies Written and Gathered in Tribute to*

H.M.L., New York, the New York Public Library, 1943.

* * *

For material assistance in completing this text, the Typophiles are greatly indebted to Mr. McKay for his unflagging research and enthusiasm in approaching the writing problem. His belief that in arranging material the general should precede the particular, and that any commentary on the appearance of the currency, or description of its printing and engraving quality, should follow a background discussion of its social and economic history has proved sound.

We are also indebted to Mr. W. A. Dwiggins of Hingham, Massachusetts, for his introductory text on the design of the colonial currency bills; to Mr. Phelps Soule, secretary, University of Pennsylvania, for photographs of the Franklin specimens; and to Mr. John Archer and his colleagues at the New York Public Library for friendly counsel and aid in providing specimens for reproduction.

In developing the format of this book, we are grateful to Mr. Edward Alonzo Miller, the Marchbanks Press, New York, for its design and typography; to the Composing Room, Inc., New York, for composition; to the Meriden Gravure Company, Meriden, Connecticut, for the collotype reproductions, and to the Russell-Rutter Company, for the binding.

It has been my pleasant privilege to work with each of these generous Typophile friends through the many months this book has been building.

PAUL A. BENNETT

New York, March, 1944.

NUMISMATIC NOTES
AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 105

THE BYZANTINE HOARD OF LAGBE

BY

EDWARD T. NEWELL

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
NEW YORK
1945

13.9

NUMISMATIC
NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

NUMBER 105

Numismatic Notes and Monographs is devoted to essays and treatises on subjects relating to coins, paper money, medals and decorations and is uniform with Hispanic Notes and Monographs published by the Hispanic Society of America, and with Indian Notes and Monographs issued by the Museum of the American Indian—Heye Foundation.

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THE INTELLIGENCER PRINTING CO.
LANCASTER, PA.

General
Wicks

FOREWORD

At the request of the American Numismatic Society for a manuscript of Edward T. Newell I am happy to turn over to them for publication The Byzantine Hoard of Lagbe.

Written up soon after the acquisition of the greater part of the Hoard and later retyped and laid aside, it is possible that it may not embody all the latest discoveries. It also does not discuss the probable cause for the hoard's burial. Therefore, it may be incomplete. As it was not given to press, the writer may have meant to add more text.

It is my desire however, that it be published in its present, original form, just as it came from the author's hand.

I must therefore take full responsibility for any possible omissions of later discoveries in dating—which still seem to be of a somewhat controversial character—covering this particular period of Byzantine history and numismatics.

ADRA M. NEWELL

November, 1944.

THE BYZANTINE HOARD OF LAGBE

By Edward T. Newell

Some years ago the present writer was fortunate enough to acquire a small hoard of Byzantine gold solidi which had been found in south central Asia Minor, about the time of the Italian occupation of those regions. The hoard, as we shall soon see, belongs to the period of that very interesting episode in Byzantine history known as the age of the Iconoclast emperors, which lasted from the accession of Leo III in 717 to the death of Theophilus in 842 A. D. Curiously enough, few if any hoards have been recorded whose burial can be assigned to this particular time. Only one, that of Reno,[1] found near Bologna, Italy, at all parallels the Lagbe Hoard. Even so, it was apparently buried some thirty years earlier.

THE FIND

The winter and early spring of 1920 appear to have been of as severe a nature in central Asia Minor as they were in the United States. Snow, rains, and ensuing freshets caused frequent washouts and small landslides in the more mountainous portions of the country. March of the year in question witnessed a particularly severe washout,

[1] S. M. Mosser, *A Bibliography of Byzantine Coin Hoards, Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 67, p. 71.

following a heavy rain, close to the little village of 'Ali Fachreddin Koi, province (*Nahie*) of Istanos, *Sandjak* of Adalia, *Vilayet* Konia. This untoward event had as a direct result the discovery by certain peasants of the hoard of Byzantine solidi which forms the subject of the present article.

By a most fortunate chance, the Marchese di Ruffano, deeply interested in the history and archaeology of the land, was at that time in the immediate neighborhood as member of an Italian mission. Hastening to the spot, he was successful in securing from the finders what he states he has every reason to believe constituted the entire hoard. To the Marchese the writer is indeed grateful, not only for all information concerning the circumstances surrounding the discovery of the coins, but also for his willingness to cede the ninety-seven pieces which he still possessed of the find. The remaining five solidi, making a total of one hundred and two coins found, had previously been presented by the Italian Consul, Sig. Ferranti, to the National Museum at Rome.

ANCIENT LAGBE

Sir William Ramsay in his *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 267[2], states that the site of Lagbe is known as 'Ali Fachreddin Yaila. He bases his conclusions on certain literary evidences, and also on two inscriptions mentioning the name of Lagbe. One of these inscriptions was found not a mile from

[2] See also, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. IV, 1888, p. 16.

Yaila and in the immediate vicinity of the ruins marking the ancient site. In the parlance of the district, *Yaila* means an upland plain, fertile valley, or grazing place, in German, *Bergweide*. Here it has evidently taken its name from the little village of 'Ali Fachreddin Koi; *koi* in Turkish being the ordinary term for a village or hamlet. Kiepert's map, 2nd edition, marks the hamlet of 'Ali Fachreddin Koi, and indicates, hard by, the ruins of an ancient city. The same is true for A. Philippson's *Topographische Karte des Westlichen Kleinasien*, Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1913.

Sir William Ramsay further identifies Lagbe with the Lagon or Lagoan of Livy[3] and the Λάγηνα or Λάγινα of the Byzantine writers. If these various identifications are correct, then Lagbe must have enjoyed a certain amount of importance in ancient times. According to the Peutinger Tables[4] it represented a stage on the highroad from Laodicea in Phrygia to Perga in Pamphylia, which passed by way of Themisonion, Phylakaion, Kibyra, Lagbe, Isinda and Termessos. Lagbe, situated just to the north of Lake Karalitis (the modern Sögöd Gölu) and near the sources of the river Lysis, was comprised in the district known as Milyas. Milyas was bounded on the south by Lycia and on the east by Pisidia. Ramsay[5] points out that when the Empire was later reorganized by Diocletian this district was incorporated in Pamphylia,[6] among whose bishops

[3] XXXVIII. 15.
[4] Corrected by Ramsay, *loc. cit.*, p. 327, note 1.
[5] *Loc. cit.*, p. 268. [6] *Loc. cit.*, p. 317.

ὁ Λαγίνων (ἐπίσκοπος) was certainly included. In Byzantine times the bishopric Λαγίνων was of some importance.[7] The names of four of its bishops are known to us: Zacharias in 692 A. D., Constantine in 787 A. D., Elissaeus and Basilius in 879 A. D. When the Byzantine Empire was again reorganized in the seventh century, Lagbe became part of the Anatolic Theme (Ἀνατόλικον), of which Amorium in Phrygia was the principal city. This Theme comprised parts of Phrygia, Lycaonia, Isauria, Pamphylia, and Pisidia.

THE COINS

As stated above, the hoard originally consisted of one hundred and two gold solidi, of which ninety-seven reached the writer, while the remaining five are now in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme Diocleziane, Rome. The majority of the coins were in an excellent state of preservation, a large proportion being actually as brilliant as on the day they left the mint. Fortunately no attempt had been made by the finders to clean the coins. They therefore retained on their surfaces abundant traces of the soil in which they had for so long been buried. These traces consisted of clay or chalk-like deposits, very hard in texture and of a grayish-white color. In addition, over a third of the pieces were also spotted with incrustations of corroded copper, i. e. verdegris. They may all originally have been con-

[7] According to the *Notitiae* it was eighth in order of precedence of all in Pamphylia.

tained in some bronze receptacle, which in time had corroded away leaving only traces on many of the coins. The coins themselves have now been carefully cleaned, as was necessary to learn details of their inscriptions and to determine their correct weights.

In the following catalogue, references are to Wroth's *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. II (here abbreviated B. M. C.) and to Comte Jean Tolstoi, *Monnaies Byzantines*, Livraison VIII, Petrograd, 1914 (abbreviated T.). As already stated, the coins are gold solidi, known to the Byzantines as *nomismata*. Our particular pieces are all of the Constantinople mint. Throughout, the reverse die is in the inverted position with respect to the obverse die.

LEO III, THE ISAURIAN

25 March 717–18 June 741.

TYPE III

Struck after March 720.

*1 DNOLEO NPAMUL. Bust of Leo III, bearded, facing; in r., globe with cross; in l., *mappa*. Border of rings.

DNCONS TANTINUS. Bust of Constantine V, beardless, facing; wears crown surmounted by cross; in r., globe with cross; in l., *mappa*. Border of rings. Slightly worn. Gr. 4.28. Var. T. No. 66.

*2 Similar, but with an S at the end of the inscription. — Similar but with a Θ at the end of the inscription. Fine. Gr. 4.41. Var. B. M. C. No. 9; var. T. No. 65.

*3 Similar, but inscription reads DNLEO NPAMUΔ — Similar, but with I at end of inscription. Very good. Gr. 4.23. B. M. C. No. 8; T. No. 62.

CONSTANTINE V, Copronymus.

18 June 741–14 September 775

Type I

741–751 A.D.

*4 D LE ONPAMUL. Bust of Leo III, bearded, facing; wears crown surmounted by cross; in r., cross potent; in l., *mappa*. Border of rings. — BC ON STANTINNC. Bust of Constantine V, bearded, facing; wears crown surmounted by cross; in r., cross potent; in l., *mappa*. Border of rings. Fine. Gr. 4.41. B. M. C. No. 3.

*5 Similar. — NC ON STANTINU. Similar. Slightly worn. Gr. 4.33. T. var. of No. 2.

*6 Similar. — Similar, but with pellet at end of the inscription. Slightly worn. Gr. 4.40. T. No. 3.

*7 Similar.	Similar, but with S at end of the inscription. Very good. Gr. 4.39. T. No. 2.
*8 D LEO NPAMUL. Similar.	DNCO N STANTINUS. Similar. Fine. Gr. 4.44. T. No. 1.
*9 D LE ONPAMULΘ. Similar.	DNC ON STANTI-NUNC. Similar. Fine. Gr. 4.41. B. M. C. No. 2; T. No. 8.
*10 Similar.	DNCO NS TANTI-NUNC. Similar. Fine. Gr. 4.43. T. var. No. 8.
*11 D LEO NPAMUL-. Similar.	DNCO N STANTINUS. Similar. Fine. Gr. 4.49. T. var. No. 1.
*12 Similar.	DN CON STANTINU ⊙. Similar. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.44. T. var. No. 1.
*13 D LEO NPAMULT. Similar.	From the same die as No. 11. Good. Gr. 4.41. T. var. No. 5.

Type II

After 751

*14 D LE ONPAMUL. Bust of Leo III, bearded, facing; wears	CONSTANTINOSſLE-ONONEOS. On l., bust of Constantine V, bearded,

	crown adorned with cross, and robe of lozenge pattern; in r., cross potent. Border of beads.	facing; on r., bust of his son Leo IV, beardless, facing; each wears crown adorned with cross. Between them, cross above, and pellet below. Border of rings. Good. Gr. 4.42. T. No. 1.
15	Similar.	Similar. Good. Gr. 4.39. T. No. 1.
16	Similar.	Similar. Good. Gr. 4.42. T. No. 1.
*17	Similar.	Similar, but with small busts. Fine. Gr. 4.38. T. No. 1.
18	Similar.	Similar. Very good. Gr. 4.49. T. No. 1.
*19	Similar.	Similar to No. 14, but a – replaces the final 'S'. Fine. Gr. 4.42. T. No. 1.
20	Similar.	Similar. Fine. Gr. 4.39. T. No. 1.
21	Similar.	Similar. Slightly worn. Gr. 4.39. T. No. 1.
*22	Similar, but at end of inscription, A.	Similar to Nos. 17–18. [Fine. Gr. 4.39.]

*23	Similar, but at end of inscription, B.	Similar to Nos. 19–21. Fine. Gr. 4.35. T. No. 36.
24	Similar.	Similar. Fine. Gr. 4.38. T. No. 36.
*25	Similar, but at end of inscription, Θ.	Similar to Nos. 17–18. Fine. Gr. 4.41. B. M. C. No. 8; T. No. 37.
26	Similar.	Similar. Very good. Gr. 4.43. B. M. C. No. 8; T. No. 37.
27	Similar, but at end of inscription, ϕ	Similar to Nos. 14–16. Slightly worn. Gr. 4.34. B. M. C. No. 10; T. No. 40.
*28	Similar.	Similar to Nos. 17–18. Very good. Gr. 4.33. B. M. C. No. 10; T. No. 40.
*29	Similar to preceding.	Similar to Nos. 19–21. Fine. Gr. 4.46.

ARTAVASDES

742

Not represented in find

LEO IV, THE KHAZAR

14 September 775–8 September 780

TYPE I

*30	LEONVSSESSONC-ONSTANTINOSON-	LEONPAP/CONSTANT ...... THR. On l., bust

EOSO. On l., bust of Leo IV, bearded, facing; on r., bust of Constantine VI, beardless, facing. Each wears crown with cross. Between, cross above, pellet below. Border of beads.

of Leo III, bearded, facing; on r., bust of Constantine V, bearded, facing. Each wears crown with cross and robe of lozenge pattern. Between them, cross above, pellet below. Border of rings. Very fine. Gr. 4.41. B. M. C. No. 1; T. No. 1.

TYPE II

*31 LEONVSSESON-CONSTANTINOS ONEOS. Leo IV and Constantine VI, seated facing, on double throne; former is bearded, latter is beardless. Each wears crown with cross, mantle and robe. Between them, cross.

LEONPAPCONSTAN-TINOSPATHR. On l., bust of Leo III, bearded, facing; on r., bust of Constantine V, bearded, facing. Each wears crown with cross and robe of lozenge pattern. Between them, cross above, pellet below. Very good. Gr. 4.37. T. No. 5.

32 Similar.

Similar. Very good. Gr. 4.40. T. No. 5.

33 Similar.

Similar. [Rome]

CONSTANTINE VI and his mother IRENE.

5 September 780–15 August 797.

TYPE I

*34 ʃIRI NIAVΓSM . . . . On l., bust of

CONST ATINOS CVB-ʃBʃ. Three figures seat-

Constantine, beardless, facing. On r., bust of Irene, facing. Constantine wears crown with cross, mantle and robe, and holds orb in r. Irene wears crown adorned with cross and four projecting ornaments, and robe of lozenge pattern; in r. she holds orb, in l. cruciform sceptre. Between the busts, cross above, two pellets below. The whole in circle of dots.

ed, facing, namely, Leo III, Constantine V, and Leo IV. Each is bearded and wears crown with cross, mantle, and robe. The whole in circle of dots. Good. Gr. 4.43. T. No. 5.

Type II

Not represented in find

IRENE

Sole Reign.

15 August 797–31 October 802

Not represented in find

NICEPHORUS I

31 October 802–December 803

*35 NICI FOROSBASILEʃ. Bust of Nicephorus, bearded, facing; wears crown surmounted by cross,

IHSUSXRIS TUSNICA⊕. Cross potent on three steps. The whole in border of dots. Fine. Gr. 4.39. T. No. 1.

mantle, and robe; in r., cross potent; in l., *mappa*. Border of dots.

With his son STAURACIUS

December 803–26 July 811

*36	NICI FOROSBASILEʃ. Bust of Nicephorus I, bearded, facing; wears crown surmounted by cross, mantle and robe; in r., cross potent; in l., *mappa*. The whole is surrounded by a circle of dots.	STAVRACISDESPOʃΘ. Bust of Stauracius, beardless, facing; wears crown with cross, mantle and robe; in r., orb; in l., *mappa*. The whole in circle of dots. Fine. Gr. 4.39. T. No. 8.
37	Similar.	Similar. Fine. Gr. 4.30. T. No. 8.
38	Similar.	Similar. Fine. Gr. 4.31. T. No. 8.
39	Similar.	Similar. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.43. T. No. 8.
*40	Similar	Similar, but inscription ends with X. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.39. T. No. 9.
41	Similar.	Similar. Very fine. Gr. 4.39. T. No 9.

42 Similar.	Similar. Very fine. Gr. 4.43. T. No. 9.
43 Similar.	Same die as No. 40. Fine. Gr. 4.40. T. No. 9.
44 Similar.	Same die as No. 40. Fine. Gr. 4.36. T. No. 9.
*45 Similar, but with large pellet to l. of cross.†	Similar, but inscription ends with an E. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.42. T. No. 7.
46 Similar.†	Similar. Very fine. Gr. 4.39. T. No. 7.
47 Similar.†	Similar. Very fine. Gr. 4.43. T. No. 7.
48 Similar.	Similar. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.45. T. No. 7.
49. Similar.	Similar. [Rome]

MICHAEL I, Rhangabe.

2 October 811–11 July 813.

With his son THEOPHYLACTUS.

*50 MIXA HLBASI-LEſ. Bust of Michael I, bearded, facing; wears crown with cross, mantle and	ΘEOFVLA CTOSDES-PſE. Bust of Theophylactus, beardless, facing; wears crown with cross and dress of lozenge pat-

† Of the flat, spread fabric (see B. M. C. II, p. 402, no. 6).

robe; in r., cross potent; in l., *mappa*. Circle of dots. | tern; in r., orb; in l., cruciform sceptre. Around, circle of dots. [Uncirculated. Gr. 4.47. B. M. C. No. 1 T. var. No. 1.]

51 Similar. | Similar.

LEO V, THE ARMENIAN.

11 July 813–25 December 820.

With LEO IV.

*52 LEON BASILEUS. Bust of Leo IV (?) facing; wears mantle and robe; with cross potent and *mappa*. | LEON DESPOTIS✱✕. Bust of Leo V, facing, wears mantle and robe with globe surmounted by cross. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.40. [Rome] [cf. Tolstoi pl. 69. No. 1.]

With his son CONSTANTINE.

25 December 813–25 December 820

*53 LE ONBASILEUS. Bust of Leo V, bearded, facing; wears crown with cross, mantle and robe; in r., cross potent; in l., *mappa*. Large pellet to l. of cross. The whole in circle of dots. | CONST ANTſ DESPſE. Bust of Constantine, beardless, facing; wears crown with cross and mantle; in r., orb; in l., *mappa*. The whole in circle of dots. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.36. T. No. 2.

54 Similar. | Similar. Very fine. Gr. 4.44. T. No. 2.

55 Similar.

Similar. Very fine. Gr. 4.42. T. No. 2.

56 Similar.

Similar. Very fine. Gr. 4.43. T. No. 2.

*57 Similar.

Similar, but inscription ends with X. Very fine. Gr. 4.43. T. No. 3.

58 Similar.

Similar. Very fine. Gr. 4.37. T. No. 3.

59 Similar.

Similar. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.42. T. No. 3.

*60 Similar, but inscription reads LE ONBA SILEʃ.

Similar. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.36. T. var. No. 3.

*61 Similar, but same inscription as No. 53.

Similar, but inscription ends with a Λ. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.48. Not in T.

MICHAEL II, THE AMORIAN.

25 December 820–3 October 829.

With his son THEOPHILUS.

*62 ✳MIXAHL BASILEUS. Bust of Michael II, bearded, facing; wears crown with cross, mantle and robe; in r., cross potent; in l., *mappa*.

ΘEOFI LODESPʃ+E. Bust of Theophilus, beardless, facing; wears crown with cross and robe of lozenge pattern; in r., orb; in l., cruciform sceptre. The whole in

The whole in circle of dots. | circle of dots. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.39. [T. No. 6.]

63 Similar. | Similar. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.38.

64 Similar. | Similar. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.46.

*65 Similar. | Similar, but X after the +. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.44. [B. M. C. No. 3.]

*66 Same obv. die as No. 65. | Similar, but the legend commences with a +. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.45. [T. —; B. M. C. —].

THEOPHILUS

Sole Reign

3 October 829–ca. 832 or later.

*67 ✱ΘEOFI LOSBASILE. Bust of Theophilus, bearded, facing; wears crown with cross and robe of lozenge pattern; in r., orb; in l., cruciform sceptre. The whole in circle of dots. | CVRIEBOHΘHTOSODOVLO ✱ X. Patriarchal cross on three steps. The whole in circle of dots. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.49. [T. No. 3.]

*68 Similar, but inscription ends with a ʃ. | Similar, but ✱ X. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.42.

*69	Similar.	Similar, but an E follows ✳. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.41. B. M. C. No. 3.
*70	Same obverse die as No. 69.	Similar, but ✳. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.49. B. M. C. No. 2.
*71	Same obverse die as No. 69.	Similar [to No. 70]. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.39. B. M. C. No. 2.
*72	Same obverse die as No. 69.	Similar, but ✳. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.44. B. M. C. No. 3.
73	Same obverse die as No. 69.	Same reverse die as No. 72. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.41. B. M. C. No. 3.
74	Same obverse die as No. 69.	Same reverse die as No. 72. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.40. B. M. C. No. 3.
*75	Similar.	Similar [to No. 72]. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.43. B. M. C. No. 3.
*76	Same obverse die as No. 75.	Similar [to No. 72]. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.48.
77	Same obverse die as No. 75.	Same reverse die as No. 76. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.40.

78	Same obverse die as No. 75.	Similar, but ⚹. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.48.
*79	Same obverse die as No. 75.	Same reverse die as No. 78. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.45.
80	Same obverse die as No. 75.	Same reverse die as No. 78. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.44.
81	Same obverse die as No. 75.	Same reverse die as No. 78. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.41.
82	Same obverse die as No. 75.	Similar [to No. 78]. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.49.
*83	Same obverse die as No. 75.	Same reverse die as No. 82. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.47.
84	Sameo bverse die as No. 75.	Same reverse die as No. 82. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.47.
85	Same obverse die as No. 75.	Same reverse die as No. 82. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.45.
86	Same obverse die as No. 75.	Same reverse die as No. 82. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.44.
87	Same obverse die as No. 75.	Same reverse die as No. 82. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.40.

88 Same obverse die as No. 75.	Same reverse die as No. 82. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.39.
89 Similar.	Similar, but ✱. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.41.
90 Same obverse die as No. 89.	Similar, but ⚹. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.47.
91 Same obverse die as No. 89.	Same reverse die as No. 90. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.46.
92 Same obverse die as No. 89.	Same reverse die as No. 90. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.45.
93 Same obverse die as No. 89.	Same reverse die as No. 90. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.45.
*94 Same obverse die as No. 89.	Same reverse die as No. 90. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.44.
95 Same obverse die as No. 89.	Same reverse die as No. 90. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.43.
96 Same obverse die as No. 89.	Same reverse die as No. 90. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.43.
97 Same obverse die as No. 89.	Same reverse die as No. 90. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.43

98	Same obverse die as No. 89.	Same reverse die as No. 90. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.41.
99	Same obverse die as No. 89.	Same reverse die as No. 90. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.41.
100	Similar.	Similar. [Rome]
101	Similar.	Similar. [Rome]

With his son CONSTANTINE

Before circa 839.

*102	✠ΘEOFI LOSBASILEX. Bust of Theophilus, bearded, facing; wears crown with cross, mantle, and robe; in r., patriarchal cross; in l., *mappa*. The whole in dotted circle.	+MIXAH L∫CONSTANTIN∫. On l., bust of Michael II, bearded, facing; on r., shorter bust of Constantine, beardless, facing. Each wears crown with cross, mantle and robe; above, cross; between busts, pellet. Uncirculated. Gr. 4.46. [B. M. C. No. 10.]

PUBLICATIONS

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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 106

BRITISH ORDERS AND DECORATIONS

BY

JAMES C. RISK

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
NEW YORK
1945

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ORDERS AND DECORATIONS

BY
JAMES CHARLES RISK

MERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
OADWAY AT 156TH STREET
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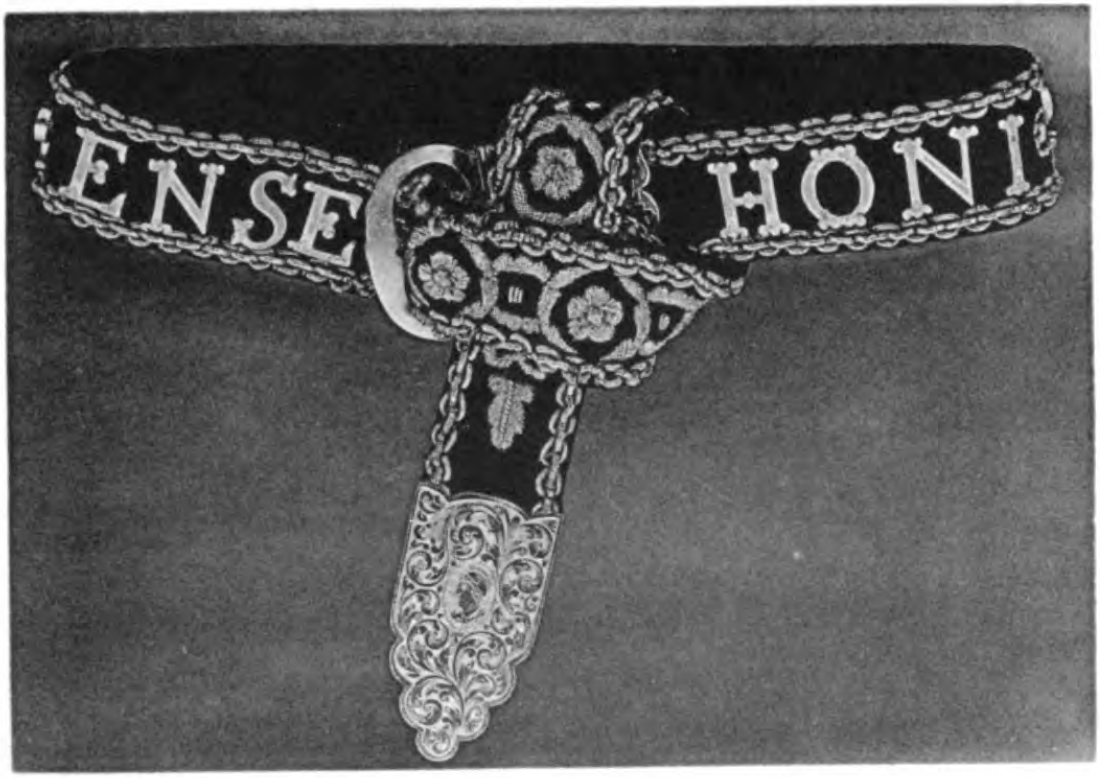

THE GARTER

BRITISH ORDERS AND DECORATIONS

BY
JAMES CHARLES RISK

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
NEW YORK
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RUDISILL AND SMITH COMPANY, LANCASTER, PA., U.S.A.

BRITISH ORDERS AND DECORATIONS

By JAMES CHARLES RISK

FOREWORD

There are many modern publications dealing with the Orders and decorations of the principal countries of Europe. But for some reason, the Orders and decorations of Great Britain have been strangely neglected. The available printed material is confined to chapters in a number of general books in the field published in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The two classic works, Ashmole's *Order of the Garter* and Sir Nicolas Harris Nicolas' *History of the Orders of Knighthood of the British Empire*, are heavy with unattractive detail, sadly out of date and generally inaccessible. No work in the field is properly or adequately illustrated. The engravings in Nicolas are generally amazingly good and the lithographs in the eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica colorful but lacking in precision and accuracy of detail. Although it is hard to assign a reason for this neglect, two contributary causes may be pointed out. While the Orders of Knighthood are clearly associated with many events and personalities of great historic interest, they have been overshadowed in this respect by the magnificent series of British campaign medals. Secondly, the reluctance of the appropriate officials of the Crown to permit the investigation of the records of the Orders or to answer any inquiries discourages the efforts of even the greatest enthusiast.

It is hardly possible for the accompanying monograph to fill the gap just described. But it is hoped that at least a beginning has been made, and that the interest which British Orders and decorations can have for the historian has been pointed out.

I am indebted to Mr. Sydney P. Noe and Mr. Sawyer McA. Mosser of the American Numismatic Society for many kindnesses and much encouragement. Specimens lent by Mr. Lester Watson of Boston were used to provide the illustrations of the Albert Medal and Air Force decorations while most of the other illustrations were taken from insignia in the collections of the Numismatic Society and of the author. The Earl and Countess of Halifax kindly allowed the insignia of the Orders conferred upon them to be photographed. Major Lockhart, his Lordship's Secretary, was most helpful in arranging details at the Embassy. Mr. B. A. Stubbs of the Freer Art Gallery in Washington, D. C., generously gave a great deal of his time to the actual photographic work involved. It was, however, Lieut. George M. Elsey, U.S.N.R., who actually made it possible to secure the excellent prints of the insignia of the Garter and the Indian Orders. While the author was at sea, Lieut. Elsey capably took charge of the numerous problems that handling such rare and valuable insignia created. Thanks can hardly be sufficient for the invaluable services he rendered. The group of illustrations was further enriched through the kindness of the Earl and Countess of Athlone, who furnished photographs of

the Orders in their possession. Their generosity permitted pictures of the exceedingly rare insignia of the Royal Victorian Chain, the Order of Victoria and Albert, King George V's House Order and the Badge of the Grand Master of the Order of St. Michael and St. George to be obtained. These decorations are so limited in number and are held by persons of such high rank that this is one of the few instances of their having been photographed if not the only one.

Mr. L. F. Guille, Honorary Secretary of the Orders, Decorations, and Medals Research Society of Great Britain, Professor David Owen of Harvard University, Professor A. R. Bellinger of Yale University, and Mr. A. E. Dubois of the Quartermaster General's Department, Washington, D.C., were generous in giving their time to reading the manuscript in detail and were able to correct the small errors that inevitably creep into a work of this kind. The statements and opinions in this Monograph are entirely the author's own and do not reflect the views of the Navy Department or the Naval Service at large.

JAMES C. RISK, LIEUT. U. S. N. R.

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THE BRITISH HONORS SYSTEM

One of the by-products of the growth of the British Commonwealth has been the gradual evolution of a far-reaching system of public honors. The custom of rewarding public service by granting some distinction or title to the individual is neither new nor characteristically British. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, such honors were generally reserved for persons of great rank and station. In all the countries of Europe it had long been the custom to reward the services of the wealthy and of the nobility by the granting of hereditary titles, or the admission to such select organizations as the Orders of the Garter and the Golden Fleece. It remained for Great Britian to adapt a custom which, in the years before 1800, had hardened into a means for perpetuating class distinctions, to the new political and social realities that faced her during the nineteenth century. So successful was the adaptation that today people in all walks of life, without regard to wealth or position, have the opportunity of winning public recognition for services rendered to the State, to their communities, or to society as a whole. Titles of hereditary nobility are still granted, but the greater part of the honors now available take the form of a distinguishing Order, decoration or medal. It will be the purpose of the Monograph to considef these latter.

In a system so extensive as that of British public honors a considerable degree of complexity has naturally developed. The medieval and the modern exist side by side and each partakes to some degree of the characteristics of the other. The Order of the Garter is still the most exclusive distinction in Europe. But in recent years it has seen admitted to its membership, along with Kings and Princes, a gentleman whose fortune was made manufacturing screws in Birmingham, and another whose political career was made possible by considerable success in the iron and steel industry. At the same time the Garter is the direct ancestor of the Order of the British Empire founded in 1917, one of the most widely bestowed and yet widely respected of the Orders. As the number of individuals eligible for recognition increased it became necessary to classify rigidly the type of service for which certain honors are given. In the armed services, junior officers and enlisted men in line of duty in time of war normally are faced with situations justifying the award of one of the decorations for valor such as the Victoria Cross or the Distinguished Service Order. On the other hand, senior officers, whose activities involve great responsibility and do not normally bring them face to face with the enemy, are recompensed with one of the higher grades of the Orders of Knighthood not usually available to the junior officer. There are also certain decorations, as in the case of the D.S.O., reserved entirely for officers, and others granted only to enlisted men. Both groups are

granted for exactly the same type of service. Civilians of all classes, not eligible for a military decoration, can be awarded one of the grades of an Order, or in time of war, the George Cross. Statesmen, diplomats, and colonial administrators all in due time are admitted to one of the Orders which are generally bestowed on men who make their mark in the civil, diplomatic, or colonial Services.

If the functions of an Order and a decoration are to be properly distinguished, one from the other, it will be necessary to review briefly the history and characteristics of each and the conditions which govern their award. The word "Order" is itself misleading. In its beginnings the Order of the Garter was constantly referred to as the "Society of St. George" or the "Fraternity of St. George called the Garter." As late as 1783 when the Order of St. Patrick was founded it was called the "Society and Brotherhood of the most Illustrious Knights of St. Patrick." The circumstances surrounding the founding of the Order of the Garter are obscure, but what we know only serves to emphasize its organized and fraternal aspect. An Order was essentially a group of men banded together for a specific purpose. That purpose could be either religious, as in the case of the great Monastic Orders, or military and political, as it was in the cases of most of the Orders of Knighthood founded after 1350. Certainly by the middle of the fourteenth century the Garter existed in a form that was to be the guide for all other Orders subsequently founded in England. The characteristics of an Order

as it emerged from the Middle Ages were fourfold: it was a fraternal organization; the number of members was specifically limited by the laws that controlled it; each member was a Knight regardless of his other rank or station; each member wore some distinguishing badge signifying his membership.

In the course of time, the fraternal aspect of the Orders all but disappeared in Europe. The London *Times* observed editorially in 1913, "It was during the nineteenth century that the strange custom arose of saying that 'a man was wearing his Orders.' The conception of most people in that sometimes prosaic period was that the decoration worn by the members of an Order was the 'Order' itself. The idea had little to disturb it in this country. Nothing was done to remind the members of British Orders that they were in fact associated in a confraternity having rules and a corporate existence of its own . . . . King Edward VIII reverted to the ideal of Chivalry and authorized those of his subjects, who were properly qualified, to meet in Church in order to take part as members of a Knightly fraternity in a corporate service of thanksgiving and dedication." The subordination of the associational characteristics which the Times complained about can be traced partly to the vital changes in the organization of some Orders and partly to a great increase in their numbers and availability. Until 1815 it was the general rule that no British subject could belong to more than one British Order. Even when the Duke of Wellington was given the Garter in 1813 he had

to resign the Bath. With the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars, the government was faced with the problem of providing some means of rewarding the large number of officers who had distinguished themselves but whose services were not important enough for them to be considered eligible for admission to membership in one of the four available Orders. The solution of the difficulty that was reached was based partly on previous Continental examples and partly on expediency. The Order of the Bath was divided into three classes. Each class was limited in numbers, but only the first two carried the honor of Knighthood. The change raised the membership of all British Orders, in round figures, from 100 to 800 in the period of a year. But, however revolutionary such a step may have appeared at the time, the next century was to see the foundation of five new Orders of Knighthood, each one with several classes and divisions, three Orders not carrying the honor of Knighthood, all the decorations of valor, and a host of miscellaneous medals for the reward of every conceivable type of public service. Add to these the large number of similar foreign distinctions that at one time or another have become available, and it is not surprising that the old Medieval corporate spirit that originally played so important a part in an Order of Knighthood was completely lost.

In spite of the multiplication of Orders of all kinds, the most important and perhaps the most significant and interesting development in the field of honors in the nineteenth century was the gradual

evolution of the decoration given for individual valor. The conditions governing the bestowal of a decoration approached the reverse of those governing an Order. A set of rigid standards was established. All men who could meet those standards became, in theory, eligible to receive the decoration. Strange as it may seem, there was no distinction available for the junior officer or enlisted man before 1845. During the Napoleonic Wars high-ranking officers were given gold medals for the battles and engagements in which they participated. But these medals were not distinctive decorations since they were granted generally to all officers of a certain rank present in an action. They were the immediate predecessors of the line of campaign medals eventually issued to all ranks throughout the century. The services of the enlisted men were not, except in the abstract, recognized as being worthy of any particular note by the authorities. It was left to the Honorable East India Company to lead the way. In 1837 two decorations were established to be granted for distinguished service and for gallantry to their native troops. It was not until 1845 that the Meritorious Service Medal was instituted—a decoration that was replaced in 1854 by the now famous medal "For Distinguished Conduct in the Field," granted exclusively to non-commissioned officers and men for gallantry in action. The position of the officers was finally recognized when all ranks were made eligible for the Victoria Cross in 1856. The small wars incident to the growth of the Empire and

finally the Great War further expanded this list to the point where it can be said that adequate awards are available for each branch of the armed forces. Nor did valor essentially unmilitary in nature go unnoticed. The so-called "Civilian Victoria Cross," the Albert Medal, was established in 1866 for saving life on land and sea. It bears the distinction of being, with the exception of the recently created George Cross, the most sparingly bestowed of all British Decorations.

The distinctions so far discussed have all had one characteristic in common. The majority of them have been made available for services to the State in a civil, diplomatic, or military capacity. For a long time employment in the military or administrative branches of the state was considered the only form of activity that merited public recognition. There was no means of recognizing purely cultural activities and, above all, no means of recognizing services performed by women. Queen Victoria found that there was no decoration she could give to Florence Nightingale for her unselfish devotion to nursing the wounded in the Crimea. She solved the problem by presenting Miss Nightingale with an ornmental jewelled and enamelled brooch. The premier decoration for military nurses, the Royal Red Cross, was not established until 1883. This refusal to provide for women was all the more curious because a very good precedent exists in the Order of the Garter itself. There were Ladies of the Order in the first century and a half of its existence.

Titled ladies were moreover recognized by the creation of the court Order of Victoria and Albert, and the Order of the Crown of India. But it needed the upheaval of the World War before the services of women were generally recognized to the extent that provision was made for them in the newly founded Order of the British Empire and the Order of the Companions of Honor. The Arts and Sciences were in exactly a similar position until the Royal Victorian Order, the Order of Merit and the Order of the British Empire were adapted to recognize musicians, sculptors, scientists and literary people.

The multiplication of honors of all kinds caused their distribution to become an increasingly difficult problem. Before 1815, when every proposed recipient was a gentleman of rank, he was generally personally known to the Sovereign, who was thus able to judge his fitness for the distinction. Down to the end of her reign Queen Victoria required her Ministers to submit a brief biography and list of services of each candidate for admission to one of her Orders. But as late as the last decade of the century the New Year's and Birthday Honors Lists occupied only half a page in the London *Times*, whereas today they occupy one and a half to two pages in the same paper. It is manifestly impossible for the King to know all of even the most distinguished candidates or to make the same demands on his Ministers for information that Queen Victoria made. In fact the growth of the Honors Lists and the increasing control exercised by the Government over the granting of all

honors has served to deprive the Sovereign of many of the powers he once exercised in this field. The Prime Minister now bears general responsibility for all the names on the Honor Lists. He is advised on those proposed for the Civil Service by the Permanent Under Secretary to the Treasury. The Defense Departments, the India Office and the Foreign Office have the right of submitting the names of their candidates directly to the King. While the Prime Minister has all but complete control over the honors system he functions, in fact, under many restrictions. The belief that all honors proceed from the Crown makes it almost impossible for him to propose or press an honor which would cast discredit on the Crown. When Charles James Fox once went so far as to promise a Knighthood of the Bath to a friend without consulting the King until the day of the Investiture, George III refused outright to bestow the honor. Queen Victoria had a very high regard for her powers in this respect and in the case of Lord Lansdowne bestowed a Garter over the direct opposition of Mr. Gladstone. Recent cases where the Sovereign's judgment in these matters has been overridden by his first Minister are very rare. It would be too much to say that honors are awarded only to those who deserve them. But in view of the size and complexity of the honors system the number that are bestowed on the undeserving is very small indeed.

The Orders of Knighthood may be divided into three broad groups for the purpose of discussing

the circumstances affecting their distribution. The first of these comprises the Orders of the Garter, the Thistle, and St. Patrick, which may be called the "Great Orders." The Orders of Merit, headed by the Bath, are six in number. The third group, composed of the Order of Merit, the Royal Victoria Order and the Order of the Companions of Honor, stands alone because they are largely free of political control. Of the Great Orders the Garter is the most representative example. In its long career it has been used as an instrument of government and diplomacy. The original Knights were close friends or advisors of Edward III. When strong Kings ruled, it was used as a reward for loyal and unquestioning service. When weak Kings occupied the throne, it was used as a prize to lure the support of strong vassals. As representative government grew and flourished it lubricated the cogs of the Parliamentary machine. Probably no better example of this function of the Order can be found than in a letter from Queen Victoria to Lord Derby in 1852. She wrote, "The Queen is of the opinion that it would be advisable on the whole to give the Garter to Lord Londonderry although the Duke of Northumberland has the best claim. At the same time the Queen would have no objection to bestowing it on Lord Lonsdale if this is desirable in order to facilitate any Ministerial arrangements Lord Derby may have in contemplation." Very frequently the Garter has been used in international diplomacy. The Anglo-French Alliance during the Crimean War was signalized by a full

Chapter of the Order held at Windsor for the purpose of giving the Blue Ribbon to the Emperor Napoleon III. When the Shah of Persia visited England early in the reign of Edward VII the King refused to give him the Garter, although the oriental potentate made it quite plain that he wanted it. Some months later, however, when it became plain that the Shah's attitude would have an extremely important effect on the attempts of Britain to develop Persian oil fields the Garter was sent out with a special mission.

Any discussion of the Great Orders would be quite incomplete if it were confined only to diplomacy and high or low politics. The fact is that many men, distinguished and otherwise, have wanted the Garter for very human reasons. A recent biographer of Lord Chesterfield has written "What he wanted at this moment was the Order of the Garter, the premier decoration at the King's disposal, the most illustrious decoration in Christendom. Aside from everything else, it was a gorgeous ornament of dress, in a day when Knights of the Garter and the Bath put on their ribbons and Stars as a part of daily apparel. The broad blue ribbon expanded even a narrow chest; the blazing diamonds of the huge Star overwhelmed the least dazzled beholders with awe and veneration. Ambassador Chesterfield entering a salon without this splendor was relatively a little naked man compared with Ambassador Chesterfield clothed in such insignia. As he put it eventually to Sir Robert Walpole, 'I am a man of pleasure and

the Blue Ribbon would add two inches to my size.' But primarily, of course, it was the symbolic character of these trappings that gave them their essential value. To be one of twenty-five selected from the entire nobility of England, to be one of an inner circle already 400 years old—the merit lay in this rigid exclusiveness."

Probably the ultimate in frankness was achieved by Lady Ashburton when she remarked in the fifties of the last century, "The Garter is about the only distinction left that those fellows of talent cannot gain. We don't like honors that are earned." The Order had long been a perquisite of the aristocracy, and the aristocracy surrendered its perquisites only under duress. It was Lord Palmerston's cynical judgment that the Knights had been chosen more often for their social standing than their deeds. While there is much truth in Lord Palmerston's remark, it must be remembered that the Order has inevitably reflected the age in which it found itself and the men who made use of it. There has been no British institution which has adapted itself more gracefully to changing circumstances than this Order has in the six hundred years of its existence. No one has ever put himself on record as being insulted when it was offered him, although Lord Shaftesbury very nearly insulted Queen Victoria by refusing it twice because he felt himself unworthy of the honor. While not always put to the best purpose, the Garter is still the most distinguished reward at the King's

command for the man who has done his best and accomplished great things for England.

The group of decorations which have been loosely termed the Orders of Merit include all those commonly given to distinguished military and naval men, diplomats, and colonial administrators. Of these the Order of the Bath is most typical. All Orders subsequent to the Bath were organized on similar lines. According to the statutes, most of the members had to hold the rank of Captain in the Navy, Colonel in the Army, or a position of equal responsibility in the civil or colonial services before being admitted to the lowest class of one of these Orders. In practice, in time of peace very few officers receive the third class of the Bath until they are Rear Admirals or Major Generals. Since the outbreak of the present war, however, the Companionship of the Bath has been considered a fitting reward for the commanding officers of ships which have distinguished themselves in action. In the battle of the River Plate leading to the destruction of the Graf Spee, the Captains of the cruisers engaged were made Companions of the Bath while Commodore (later Admiral) Harwood was created Knight Commander in the same Order. It should be noted that the Orders of Merit are very frequently given to foreign officers engaged with British forces. Thus in the last war General Pershing received the Grand Cross of the Bath. Many officers will probably be admitted to various grades of the Orders of the Bath, Star of India and St. Michael and St. George, as a

result of widespread American participation in the present war. Generals Eisenhower and MacArthur have already received the Military Grand Cross of the Bath.

Whenever one of the higher grades of an Order is conferred, if the recipient is not already a Knight it is necessary for him to be Knighted. He then has the right to bear the non-hereditary title of "Sir." This ceremony involves the actual physical contact of the sword laid on the shoulder by the Sovereign or his deputy appointed for the purpose. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries deputies were very frequently appointed. An example of this occurred when General Jeffrey Amherst was knighted and invested with the insignia of the Order of the Bath on Staten Island by Major General Monckton, Governor of New York. Today, however, the recipient of an Order generally waits until he has an opportunity to go to the Palace to receive the insignia and the Knighthood from the Sovereign. When an Order is given to an American it is in the nature of a presentation. Since the Constitution prevents Americans from accepting foreign titles, they are not Knighted, although Congress permits them to accept foreign decorations in time of war. While the distribution of the Orders of Merit is severely standardized, there is one group of decorations over which the Government has very little if any control. The Order of Merit, Companions of Honor, and the Royal Victorian Order are the decorations most frequently given for purely

cultural activities. They are the sole gift of the Sovereign, who may, but need not, accept his First Minister's advice in awarding them. The first two of these distinctions carry no title.

The distribution of decorations presents quite a different problem from the distribution of the Orders of Knighthood. While regulations have been drawn up defining the conditions under which a certain decoration will be granted, it is obviously impossible to catalogue specifically just which acts merit recognition and which do not. Each change in the art of war has produced a change in the standards for the award of every decoration. The tremendous sweep of the last war created a situation that the authorities were not prepared to meet. All Britain's previous wars had been small ones by comparison. They had been wars of cavalry and flags. The winner of a Victoria Cross was often the man who saved his regimental standard, or carried a wounded officer from the field under fire. There were no machine gun nests, muddy trenches or millions of participants to complicate matters. In an effort to prevent the wholesale shower of awards during 1914-1918, an allowance list was established for types of ships in the Navy and units of men in the Army. Unfortunately, the arrangement did not always function very well. Admiral Sir Roger Keyes records that "in Gallipoli we were told that these things must be adjusted by scale. Admiral Robeck could only have a certain percentage based on the number of people on the station to be divided in a

fixed proportion between officers and men. The opportunities of winning distinction played no part in this ridiculous system of award by scale which those unimaginative people produced. In the Grand Fleet after Jutland where squadrons were similarly treated, it is no exaggeration to say that a squadron which had never been severely engaged received the same number of honors as one that had fought many battles with heavy casualties." It is interesting to note that a very similar system was inaugurated in 1939. The scale fixed for the Navy was one decoration for every 250 men in active service every six months. For shore duty the proportion was one for every 1000 men every six months. If there is any justification for Sir Roger Keyes' stringent criticism of the system of award by scale in 1915, it would seem that the same error might have been avoided. It is, no doubt, easy to find fault, particularly where there is no responsibility involved on the part of the critics. However, it is also very easy for a Government Department staffed with people who have had little experience with actual service conditions to reach decisions that are painfully at variance with reality. Unfortunately, it seems that in such cases the advice and comment of the man on the spot is very frequently ignored, as Admiral Keyes found. Decorations are also given to foreign troops associated with the British forces. There has been only one case, however, where the Victoria Cross was bestowed on an American and that was the Unknown Soldier.

An attempt has been made to explain the origin of Orders and decorations in Great Britain and the conditions under which they have been distributed. The story would be incomplete if it were not pointed out that the expansion of the system of public honors has had a very close relation to the forces that in the past three hundred years have made modern England. It was in this period that political and social democracy as it is known today was evolved. At one time admission to a British Order was the privilege of the aristocracy. Today it is the privilege of every British subject. The development of the honors system has so paralleled and mirrored other more important forces that today it exists not as a relic of a feudal past but as one of the living inheritances of England.

CHAPTER II

THE GREAT ORDERS

The Most Noble Order of the Garter

Each of the nine Orders of Knighthood was founded when some specific need arose that it could serve. Each was the product of an era, and each was tailored to fit a set of special circumstances. The origin of the Order of the Garter has been the subject of considerable controversy among historians and antiquaries for hundreds of years. All the earliest records of the Order have been lost, so that the evidence that exists is largely indirect. Certainly ideals of romantic chivalry which were so important in the middle of the fourteenth century made it possible for an organization of Knights, ostensibly dedicated to those ideals, to flourish. But the foundations of the Order did not lack practical political implications. There exists a patent granted by Edward III on February 10, 1344 permitting some Knights of the County of Lincoln to meet annually to hold jousts and indulge in other armed sports. The King, recalling that "the deeds of the ancients had exalted military glory and strengthened the throne" and also "that dissensions had often arisen from their not having employment," was pleased to permit the Knights to "meet peaceably without oppression to the populace in said parts or to engage in unlawful

assemblies" for the practice of arms. By 1350 he had gathered a similar group of twenty-four Knights and the Prince of Wales around him at Windsor. Although these men were his advisers, his friends, and companions in arms, they were formed into a regular society, with a chapel of their own and a blue garter for their distinguishing badge. There is no absolute historical foundation for the old story that the order was founded because one day, when the Countess of Salisbury's garter broke and dropped to the ground, the King picked it up and, noticing the undertone of gossip among the assembled courtiers, promptly coined that immortal Norman French sentence, "Honi Soit Qui Mal y Pense." But on the other hand, there is no evidence that the story is pure fabrication, and it remains our only logical explanation for the motto that was embroidered on the blue Garter of the Knights of the new fraternity.

The Garter was the first example of the insignia of a British Order. The Knights were enjoined by the statutes of the Order to wear it daily. As Ashmole notes, the constant display of the insignia was important because it was worn by the members "as a sign of Brotherhood which from being constantly in sight might stimulate them to observe their oath of loyalty to the Sovereign and of devotion to virtue military as well as civil." Knights of the Garter followed the custom of wearing some part of their insignia as an article of daily apparel as late as the seventies of the last century. The Garter illustrated (Frontispiece) is 22½ inches long, of

dark blue velvet decorated with gold embroidery and with the motto in letters of gold. The buckle and tabs are hallmarked. It is now in the possession of the Earl of Halifax K. G., former Viceroy of India, Foreign Minister and at present (1945) British Ambassador to the United States. Although this Garter is very plain, many Knights in the past have had theirs set with precious stones. Frequently, valuable and heavily jewelled Garters have been presented to foreign Sovereigns. King Charles I's Garter was set with 400 diamonds. Since it was the custom of the Knights to wear the Garter daily when knee breeches were popular, they often provided themselves with several additional Garters Many exist today that are embroidered in plain gold or silver thread on light blue corded silk. The only other device that the original members wore was a blue cloak with an embroidered St. George's cross surrounded by a buckled garter on the left shoulder.

It was not until the reign of Henry VII that the most prominent part of the Garter insignia was instituted. During the second half of the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century style decreed that gentlemen of quality should wear some form of heavy gold chain with their daily dress. When the famous Order of the Golden Fleece was founded by the Duke of Burgundy in 1469 a gold chain or "collar" was designed as the principal insignia of the Order. Whether the King of England was moved to copy this part of the Fleece's insignia

is not known, but it seems very probable that he was. The earliest mention of the Garter collar (Plate I) is in a document describing the mission sent to invest the Emperor Maximilian with the insignia of the Order in 1503. When the Emperor was elected a Knight in 1489 no mention was made of the collar. It must have been added, then, between the years 1490 and 1502. According to the statutes it is composed of twenty-four heraldic Tudor roses enamelled red and white, each surrounded by a buckled garter and linked together with twenty-four "lover's knots" of gold, the whole weighing thirty ounces of twenty-two carat gold. In actual practice there seems to have been considerable variation in the weight of the collar. That belonging to Charles I was weighed by Cromwell's commissioners before melting and was found to be considerably overweight. Today the collars weigh 37 ounces, 6 pennyweights. The collars worn by Queen Victoria, Queen Mary and the present Queen appear from photographs to have been constructed on a much smaller scale than those of the knights and must therefore weigh much less. Unlike the other insignia, the collar cannot be jewelled or ornamented in any way.

The collar supports "The Great George," an enamelled gold equestrian figure of the Order's patron Saint slaying the dragon (Plate I). This figure is now one and three quarters inches in depth but has varied considerably in size and workmanship in the past. Queen Anne gave the Duke of Marlborough a magnificent George set in diamonds. This piece later

passed into the hands of the Prince Regent who gave it to the first Duke of Wellington.

In the early days the Great George appears to have been surrounded by a Garter. A portrait of Queen Elizabeth's Minister, Lord Burghley, in the Garter Robes shows one in this form. As the result of changes in men's styles, by the middle of the sixteenth century the collar ceased to be generally worn. In 1519 the Statutes permitted the Knights "in time of war, sickness, long voyage, or other necessary occasions to wear the image of Saint George dependent to a little chain of gold or lace of silk". In 1521 the image was described as being surrounded by a Garter. This became known as the "Lesser George." During the reign of Charles I it was generally worn from a wide blue ribbon. For some unknown reason King Charles stopped wearing it around the neck and, instead, slung the ribbon over the left shoulder, the Lesser George, or Badge resting low under the right arm. The Badge has been worn in this way ever since. Today it rests on the right hip. Like the other insignia, the form of the Badge has varied over the centuries. The statutes decree that it shall be made of plain gold. The one illustrated (Plate II), belonging to the Earl of Halifax, is plain, and measures two and seven-eighths inches in depth. Many have been set with precious stones and have been considerably larger. In the days when the Badge was more frequently worn, the Knights had several made for themselves at their jewelers to suit their individual tastes. The Royal Family has a number of very fine

Badges that are frequently displayed in photographs of some of the older members. Before leaving the Lesser George it should be pointed out that the four-inch blue ribbon from which it is suspended is a very important part of the insignia. In fact "The Blue Ribbon" is a common synonym for the Garter. The shade of blue has changed a number of times. The Stuarts wore one that was very light. The Hanoverian dynasty changed to one that was very dark. The late King George V changed the color again to what may be described as a very deep sky blue.

One of the most attractive pieces of the Garter insignia is the Star (Plate III). The Star is an outgrowth of the St. George's Cross and Garter worn on the robes of the original Knights. King Charles I surrounded his Cross and Garter with embroidered silver rays. In time this device was embroidered on the outer coat of the Knights. By 1800 the Knights had their Stars executed in silver, but they were still sewn on. In time the Star grew smaller in size and today it is pinned on. While the Stars of most of the British Orders are of standard make at the present time, the Stars of the Garter seldom are the same size or shape. The Star illustrated on Plate IV is the second that the Earl of Halifax has had. When it was given to him he returned the original piece to the Sovereign. This Star is very old and is not of the usual chipped silver construction that is so characteristic of the Stars of other Orders. The variation that is so typical of the Garter Star can be partially

explained by the fact that all the insignia are returned on the death of the Knight. This has not always been the case, however. There were numerous instances in the sixteenth century where the Knights willed their collars to their heirs or to a friend. Eventually the Chancellor of the Order laid successful claim to the insignia, apparently for his own profit. In 1825 the Chancellor had to forfeit the insignia to the Crown but he was granted £100 for each set to reimburse him for his loss. Finally, in 1838, he was deprived of even this fee. Today the Collar, Great George, and Garter go to the Central Chancery, while the heir of the deceased Knight delivers the Star and Badge to the King. All the insignia are subsequently reissued. Considerable obscurity, at present, surrounds the insignia now worn by the Knights. It is not known how old the various pieces are, whether any record has been kept of the Knights who formerly wore each piece, just what degree of age and wear is necessary before a piece is worn out or what the incidence of loss is. The author suspects that considerable information could be made available on this aspect of the Order.

The Order of the Garter is remarkable in that its organization has been maintained for six hundred years without a break. It never died out to be revived with pretences of antiquity years later. It is as closely associated with the Monarchy as St. Edward's Crown itself.

The Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle

In 1687 King James II decided to give the Kingdom of Scotland an Order that would be comparable to the Garter in England. He adopted the strange expedient of "reviving" a non-existent Order supposedly founded by a former King of Scotland in 787 and gave it the name of Scotland's national flower with St. Andrew for a patron Saint. Inasmuch as the original group of Knights were largely supporters of the Stuart cause, the Order suffered an eclipse after the Revolution of 1688. It was actually revived by Queen Anne in 1703. Lord Dartmouth summed the matter up as only an Englishman could. "It was revived in the reign of Queen Anne" he wrote, "with some new regulations, and they styled themselves Knights of the most ancient Order of St. Andrew, though nobody ever heard of a Knight of St. Andrew till the time of King James II. All the pretense for antiquity is some old pictures of the Kings of Scotland with medals of Saint Andrew hung with gold chains around their necks,—and everybody knows that gold chains and medals were worn formerly for ornaments by persons of quality and are still given to Ambassadors. But Charles II used to tell a story of a Scotchman that desired a grant for an old mill because he understood that they had some privileges and were more esteemed than the new."

Whatever the motives behind the pretense of antiquity the Order of the Thistle was soon held in high esteem. It is probably the most exclusive Order in Europe. From its foundation until 1821 the Knights numbered only twelve. In the latter year four extra Knights were added incident to the Coronation of George IV. In 1827 the number of members was fixed at sixteen where it remains today. The magnificent Chapel of the Order, in Saint Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, is of modern origin and was finished just before the last War. One of the most interesting installations of Knights was held in July 1937 when Her Majesty the Queen was installed as the first Lady of the Order.

The Thistle has served its purpose well. It is a very much prized distinction in Scotland, where the little differences that distinguish the Scot from the Englishman are preserved with a fierce pride that would astonish the foreigner. In recent years the Order has been given to several gentlemen who, to paraphrase Lord Palmerston, are as distinguished for their deeds as for their ancestors. The motto of the Order is "Nemo Me Impune Lacessit" (Nobody attacks me with impunity).

The insignia of the Thistle were designed on lines similar to the Garter insignia. The gold collar, one and two-tenths inches in depth, is composed of sixteen thistles interlaced with four sprigs of rue enamelled in colors. Like other collars it is fastened to the deep green mantles of the Order with white ribbons. The original statutes of the Order provided

that pendant to the Collar "is to hang the St. Andrew in gold, enamelled, with his gown green, and the surcoat of purple having before him the cross of his martyrdom enamelled white, or if of diamonds, consisting of the number of thirteen, just the cross and the feet of Saint Andrew resting on a ground of green." In February, 1714, it was further provided that "the Image of St. Andrew . . . be made larger than it now is and have round it rays of gold going out from it making the form of a glory." Provision was made in 1687 to wear this "jewel" from a purple watered silk ribbon over the left shoulder tied under the right arm as the Garter ribbon was worn. Queen Anne changed the color of the ribbon to a rich dark green, and so it remains today. Whenever the jewel was not worn to the ribbon, it was to be replaced by an oval gold medal consisting of a figure of St. Andrew as prescribed for the jewel, but in plain gold, surrounded by a gold band bearing the motto of the Order. In practice, the jewel was seldom worn attached to anything but the collar. Queen Anne wore a very interesting Badge to the Garter ribbon. It had a Saint George and Garter on one side and the St. Andrew on the other. The Star of the Order (Plate V) consists of a Saint Andrew's Cross in silver with silver rays going out from the angles, charged in the center with a thistle of green on a field of gold, surrounded by a circle of green bearing the motto of the Order in gold.

A number of the collars and Badges now in possession of the Knights of the Thistle date back

to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Many of them represent some of the best workmanship of the early Scottish jewelers. There is a very fine jewelled medal of the Order with the Crown jewels in Edinburgh Castle that is worn by the Sovereign when he takes up residence in the Palace of Holyroodhouse. The Star illustrated (Plate V) is a magnificent specimen and is in the collection of the American Numismatic Society in New York. The insignia of the Order are returnable to the King on the death of each Knight.

The Most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick

Following the precedent of Walpole, the Earl of Shelburne, Prime Minister in 1782, felt it necessary to conciliate the more powerful Irish Peers by finding honors and distinctions for them. The limited number of Knights in the Orders of the Garter, the Thistle and the Bath made it inconvenient for these Orders to be used for Lord Shelburne's purposes. The solution of the difficulty was to persuade the King to create a new Irish Order named for the patron Saint of that country. The Order of Saint Patrick, founded by George III in 1783 has filled the position of principal Order in Ireland. The Knights were limited to twenty-two, with the Viceroy acting as Grand Master. The collar of the Order (Plate VI), of pure gold, is composed of seven roses and six harps alternately, each tied together with a knot of gold, the roses being enamelled

alternately white leaves within red and red leaves within white, and in the center an Imperial Crown surmounting a harp of gold from which hangs the Badge. The Badge is a large oval having in the center a three-petaled shamrock, or "trefoil," in green, on a red Saint Andrew's cross surrounded by a blue circlet bearing the motto of the Order, the whole surrounded by a wreath of green trefoils. There seems to have been great variation in the size, shape and enamelling of the St. Patrick's Badge. The Badge illustrated on Plate VII is in plain gold and was worn by one of the Knights founders of the order. While the usual Badge is oval, photographs of the Knights taken after 1850 show several circular specimens. That worn by the late Field Marshal Lord Wolseley was circular. When Lady Wolseley requested permission of the officials of the Order to present her husband's St. Patrick Collar to the Royal United Services Museum along with the rest of his Orders and decorations, permission was refused. She had a copy of the collar made in gilt and it is, in normal times, on display with the magnificent Wolseley collection at the Museum. Lord Wolseley's circular Badge was much larger than the early specimen mentioned above. The Star of St. Patrick (Plate VIII) is the usual eight-pointed star charged in the center with a representation of the Badge.

In 1831 King William IV caused the Irish Crown jewels to be used to make an unusual set of the insignia of Saint Patrick for the adornment of the Grand Master on special occasions. Each retiring

Lord Lieutenant was required to hand the jewelled ornaments over to his successor. The State Insignia consisted of the following pieces: "A large Star of the Order of Saint Patrick composed of fine brilliants, having an emerald shamrock in the center, surrounded by the motto of the Order in diamonds on a blue enamelled ground; a large oval badge of the Order surmounted with the Crown, all composed of fine brilliants with an emerald shamrock on ruby cross; a gold Badge of the Order richly enamelled and set with emeralds and rubies."

The Order of Saint Patrick is in an anomalous position. The very motto, "Quis Separabit?" posed a question Englishmen were unwilling to recognize, and one which numerous Irishmen were all too willing to answer. Many members of the Order have been distinguished men. Yet many were men not too popular with their neighbors in Ireland because they represented the absentee landlord class. When the separation did come the Order lost its Chapel in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. In 1908 it had lost the State insignia of the Order in diamonds, which disappeared from Dublin Castle under mysterious circumstances and have not yet been found. The last Knight to be created, barring two members of the Royal Family, was the Duke of Abercorn in 1922. While the Order was complete as late as 1924, it seems about to lose all its members. There is no information about the Order's future now available.

CHAPTER III

THE ORDERS OF MERIT

The Most Honourable Order of the Bath

The Orders of Merit comprise the group of decorations made available for services in the armed forces and in various administrative capacities throughout the Empire. Of these the prototype is "The Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath," an Order of Knighthood that stands second only to the Garter in the general esteem in which it is held. The name of the Order is actually centuries older than the Order itself, as we know it today. When the honor of Knighthood was conferred with special ceremonies by the Sovereign himself the candidate had to submit to many symbolic rituals. One of these was the taking of a bath as a symbol of purity and the washing away of sin. There are records of Knights of the Bath, but not Knights of an Order, being created as early as 1399. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries most of the ritual had been dispensed with, but certain Knights created at coronations and on other occasions were still denominated Knights of the Bath. Portraits of some of these Knights show them wearing an oval gold medal enamelled white and charged with three garlands or crowns of green. But it was not until 1725 that, under the stress of political necessity, the Order was actually created. The Prime Minister,

Sir Robert Walpole, maintained his position by using the honors at his command to purchase political support of many of the great Peers, so wealthy in their own right that money meant little to them. Horace Walpole wrote that "The revival of the Order of the Bath was the measure of Sir Robert Walpole and was an artful bank of thirty-six ribbands to supply a fund of favors in lieu of places. He meant to stave off demands for Garters and intended that the Red should be a step to the Blue." The order was provided with a set of statutes that were more reminiscent of medievalism than of the cynical eighteenth century. Sir Harris Nicolas observed that "in 1725 King George I 'revived' as it was termed, the Order of the Bath, but little of the original institution except the most objectionable parts was retained, that is to say a name which was wholly inappropriate, a Motto and Ensigns that conveyed no obvious meaning and inculcated no moral or patriotic duty; and ceremonies so inconsistent with the feelings of the age that they were never intended to be performed." There is a great deal of truth in this judgment. But, like every other similar institution, the eventual value of the Order was measured not in terms of its founder's intentions but by the uses to which it was subsequently put. In fact the red ribbon of the Bath was not used as a step to the Blue. It presently became the principal military order in its own right.

The Napoleonic Wars ushered the Order into its most glorious period at the end of the eighteenth

century. England entered the struggle in 1793. For the next twenty years the Royal Navy piled up one victory upon another. The men responsible for this record were, one by one, admitted to the Order. When Wellington's campaign got under way in Spain the army contributed its share to the ranks of the Order. One result of this extensive and successful series of military and naval operations was a great expansion in the number of members beyond the limits set by the statutes. By 1814 it became evident that there were not enough places in the Order to accept all those whose services merited it. The solution decided on by the authorities was a distinct break in the traditions that had begun with the Garter. On January 2, 1815, a Warrant was issued in which the Prince Regent declared that it was his desire to "commemorate the auspicious termination of the long and arduous contests in which this Empire has been engaged and of marking in an especial manner His gracious sense of the magnificent perseverence and devotion manifested by the officers of His Majesty's forces on sea and land." Therefore he thought it "fit to advance the splendor of the Order of the Bath and extend its limits to the end that those officers who have had the opportunities of signalizing themselves by eminent services during the late war might share the honors of the said Order and that their names may be delivered down to remote posterity accompanied by the marks of the distinction they had so nobly gained." The extension followed the pattern

already set by the Order of St. Louis in France. The existing Knights of the Bath were called Knights Grand Cross (G.C.B.). There was a second and larger group called Knights Commanders (K.C.B.). Finally there was a third group numbering some seven hundred called Companions (C.B.) who were not Knights at all. Each group was provided with its own insignia that had only the remotest resemblance to the insignia that had previously been worn. Those few Knights who were civilians retained the old insignia. Provision was made for admission of a small number of distinguished civilians to the revised Order. They became "Civil Knights Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath."

It cannot be said that this complete change in the statutes of a highly respected Order was greeted with enthusiasm except, perhaps, by some of the new members who otherwise would have gone unrewarded. The older Knights felt that their hard won honors were cheapened by an influx of newcomers, many of whom had only the most shadowy claim to the distinction. The most distinguished living sailor, Sir John Jervis, Earl St. Vincent, violently objected to his new designation of G. C. B. and refused to wear the insignia except when in the presence of King George IV. There was agitation in Parliament. Members of the opposition pointed out that by the statutes the Knights were required to maintain a certain number of men at arms, "by which means the Crown might raise an armed band

surreptitiously . . . . Whenever a nation was a military nation there ought to be a military order; but England is not a military nation." The objection was not merely the result of a post-war reaction against all things military. It was a fear as old as representative government in England. There was, however, little danger if only on the grounds of expense. Perhaps the most serious objection could be found in the fact that the new arrangement did not provide any means for the Prince Regent to recognize the achievements of most of the men his "gracious sense" indicated were worthy of distinction. The third class was limited to Majors in the Army and Post Captains in the Navy. There was no provision of any kind made for the thousands of officers and men in lower ranks, either within the Order or outside it.

It cannot be denied that the revision of the Order of the Bath placed that institution under a cloud for a time. Part of the difficulty lay in the fact that many important people had trouble in adjusting themselves to an award that tended to transcend class distinctions. The ultimate wisdom of the newly constituted Order was, however, soon recognized. In 1847 Queen Victoria was able to add a Civil Division of Knights Commanders and Companions without causing any great upheaval. Probably the greatest disability that the Order suffered under during the Queen's reign was the prosaic attitude adopted toward all honors. The impressive ceremonies at one time associated with

the Garter, the Thistle and the Bath were allowed to lapse. Promotion in the Order was made more according to seniority and age than merit alone. Significantly Lord Wolseley refused a G. C. B. when it was first offered in 1882 because he feared that acceptance of the honor would damage his career. He felt that he was too young to be promoted in the Order over the heads of senior generals. This practice contrasted unfavorably with the customs followed in Russia and Austria in regard to the Orders of St. George and Maria Theresa. In the case of the Russian Order of St. George the first class was so sparingly granted that in 1914 no living Russian could wear it. However, in the nineteenth century with the multiplication of junior Orders, the Bath began to regain its former position in public estimation. It was left for the late King George V to revive the impressive ceremony of the Installation of the Knights in the renovated Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey. The attention which the King bestowed on the order was marked. There were few instances when he was seen in uniform not wearing its insignia. The Great War added new lustre. The London *Times* noted in 1920 that "Even in the late War, when honours lists were criticized for their length, admission to the Order of the Bath was charily granted and membership in its first class is still regarded as the fitting reward for the greatest victories and is highly prized as an honorary distinction by foreign rulers." After a checkered history

the Order seems finally to have achieved a lasting and distinguished place in the British honors system.

By the time the Order of the Bath was founded, the insignia of all orders had become fairly well standardized. It was unusual for an Order to be possessed of three different types of badges as was the Garter. Normally there was one Badge, worn from the collar on occasions of ceremony, and from the ribbon of the Order on all others. The insignia of the Bath followed this tradition when it was designed in 1725. But the Badge instead of being designed as some form of a cross, as was most frequently the case in Europe, followed the distinctly English tradition already set by the Garter and the Thistle. The Badge was an oval pierced medal of varying size containing a sceptor between three imperial gold crowns with a rose, thistle and shamrock between, surrounded by a gold band on which the motto of the Order, "Tria Juncta in Uno" appeared in letters of burnished gold. This Badge was retained after 1815 as the Badge of the Civil Division (See Plates XV-XVII). The Star worn by the Knights between 1725 and 1815 was in the conventional form, having four greater and four lesser points, with three imperial crowns of gold in the center surrounded by the motto of the Order in gold letters on a crimson circlet (Plate IX). The collar, a chain of unusual length, is officially described as being made of gold, thirty ounces troy in weight, one and one-eighth inches in depth, composed of nine gold Imperial Crowns, eight gold roses and thistles

issuing from a scepter enamelled in colors, tied with seventeen gold knots enamelled white (Plate X).

It was originally intended that the insignia of the new Knights Grand Cross in 1815 should be similar to those of the old Knights with the addition of a laurel wreath around the Badge and around the central device on the Star. But other counsels prevailed with altogether satisfactory results. The Badge of a Military Grand Cross is a gold Maltese Cross three and one-quarter inches square enamelled white, edged in gold, and tipped with small gold balls, and a gold lion "passant guardant," to use the heraldic term, in each of its four angles. In the center there is a device of crowns, scepter, rose, thistle and shamrock, surrounded by a crimson circlet bearing the motto, the whole encircled with a laurel wreath tied with a blue ribbon bearing the motto "Ich Dien." (Plate XI). It is worn over the right shoulder on a crimson sash, four inches in width, and rests on the left hip. The Badge of a Knight Commander is like the Grand Cross, but only two and one-eighth inches square. It is worn around the neck by a two inch crimson ribbon threaded through a heavy gold ring ornamented with oak leaves (Plate XII). This, under conditions of modern formal dress, is very awkward. At one time, however, when large heavy open collars and stocks were common, the Badge of a K. C. B. was not worn at the neck by a miniature ribbon as it is today, but low on the breast suspended from the investiture

ribbon (Plate XIII). A Companion wears the same Badge one and three-quarter inches square from a one and one-half inch ribbon threaded through a plain gold ring (Plate XIV). The Badges for the Civil Knights Commanders and Companions (Plate XVII) are the same as those worn by the old Knights but smaller in size. The Badges of the Companions were not worn at the neck until 1917. From 1815 until that year they were worn, medal fashion, attached to the breast. It is common to see Companions' Badges today converted for neck wear.

There was variation in the Badge provided for in the Statutes. Members of the first class who were also Knights of the Garter were directed to wear their Badges suspended from an Imperial Crown. In fact none of the crowns were Imperial, but are Royal in form with the characteristic depressed arch. King George IV, the Duke of Wellington and the Marquess of Anglesey wore them this way, but the practice never became wide spread. King William IV, who regarded himself as Great Master of the Order, wore a badge of this kind. The Duke of Sussex, made Great Master by Queen Victoria, wore a Civil Badge suspended from a crown. In time it became the custom for the Sovereign of the Order and the Great Master to wear the crowned Badges but no others. A portrait of the Prince Consort by Winterhalter shows a large crowned Badge and collar thrown over the robes of the Order in the background. But in modern times King Edward VII, King George V, and the late Duke of Connaught

wore a small crowned Badge suspended from the neck. King George V seems to have had at least two such insignia. It should be noted that Lords Roberts and Kitchener, who according to the original statutes could have worn this unique form of Badge, did not do so. To the best of the author's knowledge, the present Earl of Derby K. G., a Civil G. C. B., has not done so either. Without access to complete files of the numerous minor changes in the statutes, it seems likely that the custom was first allowed to lapse until finally the crown was dropped. Nothing is known at present of the history of the crowned Badges now in the possession of the Royal Family.

A completely new set of Stars was also designed for the Order in 1815. The Star of the Civil Knights remained substantially the same. But the Military Knights' Star was charged with a device similar to the Badge except that the cross was entirely of gold and the lions were eliminated (Plate XVIII). Knights Commanders were given a Star of an entirely new and original shape composed of four rays of silver in the form of a cross, with four small rays between and ends squared (Plate XIX). The Military K. C. B.'s wore the Star charged in the center with the device as for the Military G. C. B. but without the gold cross, while the Civil K. C. B.'s central device was exactly the same as that of the Civil G. C. B.

Throughout the eighteenth century it was customary for Knights of an Order to have as many Stars as they needed embroidered to their coats or

uniforms. They were apparently not invested with a metallic Star at all. If a Knight wished to have a Star of other materials than silver or gold thread it was generally executed in precious stones or paste. All of Lord Nelson's existing Stars of the Bath are embroidered on his uniforms. Toward the end of the century, however, metallic Stars began to appear. The Star of the K. B. in Plate IX is pierced at the tips of the rays, and each ray hinged, to facilitate sewing. This is also true of Sir John Moore's silver K. B. Star in a collection of the United Services Museum. As a result, one finds early Stars of the British Orders in all sizes and shapes. In spite of the change of fashion, however, after 1815 the Knights of the Bath began to have Stars in tinsel given them when they were invested (Plate XX). Whether these were worn very much is doubtful because they were rather poorly made. Sir William Codrington in describing an Investiture of the Bath in the Crimea to Lord Panmure, the Secretary of State at War, wrote "We had no velvet cushions, but we had a scarlet cloth, one whose everyday occupation is more undignified than carrying the insignia of the Bath. The French, I am glad to see had their real stars given them; it looked a little awkward to see our own officers getting the spangled affair at the same time put into their own hands. We made the best of it, though I must say it looked like a little economy for a great nation at the time." How long this form of economy lasted it is impossible, in the absence of access to official records, to say with accuracy.

Inspection of numerous photographs of G. C. B.'s and K. C. B.'s indicates that the change may have come about 1870. After that year, the Stars became standardized in size and in general appearance. The Stars on Plates XXI, XXII show how great a variation from the standard could result. The former is the official issue, while the latter is of private manufacture. There are only two Stars of the Bath that are definitely known to have been set with diamonds. One, the Star of a K. C. B., was given to Sir John Moore by his Staff and is now in the Royal United Services Museum in London. The other was in the possession of the late Viscount Esher, G. C. B. It was sold shortly before the present War, and both its history and present whereabouts are unknown.

The insignia of the Bath are described as being made of gold. This has not been true since the end of Queen Victoria's reign. The Badges and collars are now manufactured in heavy silver gilt. The Badge of the Civil G. C. B. illustrated on Plate XV is in gilt and is hallmarked 1918. The civil Badge illustrated on Plate XVI is at present in the possession of the Earl of Athlone K. G., G. C. B. The Military G. C. B. in Plates XXIII-XXV, presented to a distinguished American military figure by the late King George V in 1918, is of gilt, and this is also true of the Badges of Admiral of the Fleet Earl Jellicoe and Field Marshal Viscount Allenby. Although according to British law articles of silver and gold should be hallmarked, some insignia bear the required hallmark but an equally large propor-

tion do not. Neither of the insignia mentioned above has any hallmark or maker's identification symbol.

Of the insignia of the Bath only the Collar and Badge attached are returned to the Central Chancery of the Orders of Knighthood. The Investment Badges and Stars may be retained by the relatives of the deceased Knights.

The Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George

Among the most important strategic and colonial possessions acquired by Great Britain as a result of the Napoleonic Wars were the Ionian Islands and the Island of Malta in the Mediterranean. Political necessities made it seem advisable to create an Order for the reward of those natives of the Islands who showed their loyalty to the Crown. In 1818 the Order of St. Michael and St. George was established for this purpose. It was to consist of eight Knights Grand Cross (G. C. M. G.) twelve Knights Commanders (K. C. M. G.) and twenty-four Companions (C. M. G.), called Cavallieri when the members were Maltese. The Governor and Commander in Chief of the Islands was ex-officio Grand Master of the Order and the Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean was an ex-officio Grand Cross. The Order was open to other Englishmen who rendered service in the Mediterranean area. A good deal of comment was caused at the time by the peculiar limitations of the Order. By 1840, however, the use

of the Order had expanded enough so that Sir Harris Nicholas, the Chancellor, felt that perhaps it would develop into an Order of Civil Merit in England. While his expectations were partially disappointed in this respect, the Order was greatly expanded during Queen Victoria's Reign in the numbers of its members and the purpose it had to serve. It became the principal award for services in connection with foreign affairs and the fast expanding Empire. It is customary, for example, for all newly appointed Governors General of the Dominions to receive the Grand Cross of the Order. During the Great War it served as a kind of junior Order of the Bath and as such was awarded to many members of the armed forces of Britain and her Allies.

The Chapel of the Order is in St. Paul's Cathedral, London. In normal times the annual services of installation are held there, on St. George's Day, April 23.

The insignia of St. Michael and St. George are the Collar, Badge and Star (See Plate X). The collar is described as being made of gold composed alternately of crowned lions of England, white Maltese crosses, and the cyphers S. M. and S. G. linked together with short, square linked gold chains. In the center there is an Imperial Crown over two-winged lions, each holding a book and seven arrows in his fore-paw, from which is suspended the Badge. The Badge is a seven-limbed cross in white enamel beneath a gold Imperial Crown. In the center, on one side, there is a lively representation of St. Michael

assaulting the devil, on the other, one of St. George administering the *coup de grace* to an expiring dragon, each surrounded by a blue circlet bearing the motto of the Order, "Auspicium Melioris Aevi" in letters of gold. (Plate XXVI, XXVII). When not attached to the Collar, the Badge is worn to a Saxon blue sash four inches in width with a central scarlet stripe over the right shoulder resting on the left hip. The Star of the Order is composed of seven chipped silver rays with a fine ray of gold between, each mounted with a red cross of St. George. The center piece is a representation of St. Michael similar to that on the Badge and surrounded with a circlet containing the motto of the Order. The Knight Commander's Star is composed of four rays of silver with the limbs of a silver cross between them (Plate XXVIII). The center device is similar to that of the Star of the Grand Cross. Knights Commanders and Companions wear their Badges around the neck. The Badge of the Companion was formerly worn on the breast like the C. B. The Badge illustrated on Plate XXVI is that of the Grand Master of the Order at present worn by the Earl of Athlone K. G. It is of gold with the crowned cypher of St. Michael and St. George between the angles of each limb of the cross.

Insignia of this Order made at different stages of its existence are very hard to discover in collections or museums for study. The United Services has a very interesting Star worn by Admiral Sir Graham Moore, one of the original Knights, when he was

Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean. It is boldly executed and the rays are smooth silver instead of the conventional cut silver. There seems to have been considerable variation in the over all size of the Badges and Stars. The K. C. M. G. Badge illustrated (Plate XXVII) is *ca.* 1900 and measures $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches from point to point on the cross or $3\frac{15}{16}$ inches from the top of the crown to the lowest point of the cross, while the Star measures $3\frac{3}{16}$ inches. Early in the reign of King George V, however, the insignia were made much smaller and consequently more pleasing in appearance. There is a K. C. M. G. pair in the collection of the American Numismatic Society which measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ x $2\frac{13}{32}$ inches for the badge and $2\frac{31}{32}$ inches for the Star. Like the insignia of the Bath the insignia of this Order is now made in silver gilt for all classes. None of it has to be returned on the decease of a Knight.

The Most Excellent Order of the British Empire

The Great War saw a total mobilization of British manpower and resources on a hitherto unprecedented scale. So many different varieties of services were being rendered that the existing Orders were in danger of being swamped if the demands made on them were granted. The King was faced with the same problem that the Prince Regent had been in 1814, but this time it was urgent before the successful conclusion of hostilities. The solution was not sought

in an attempt to adapt one of the existing Orders to meet the new situation. An entirely new Order was established to commemorate the national and Imperial effort inspired by the War and to meet new needs which it seemed likely would be felt after the War was over.

The Order of the British Empire, founded on June 4, 1917, was marked by one unique feature. It made provision for the admittance of women to its ranks. Following the example previously set by the Royal Victorian Order, there were five classes established — Knights and Dames Grand Cross (G. B. E.), Knights and Dames Commanders (K. B. E. and D. B. E.), Commanders (C. B. E.), Officers (O. B. E.) and Members (M. B. E.). In 1918 a Military Division of the Order was established to be conferred on members of the British and Imperial forces for services which did not qualify them for one of the senior Orders but which were nonetheless of great value to the war effort. At first there was no specific limit put on the numbers of each class. By 1920 between seven and eight thousand persons had received the Order and the London Times thundered against it, advocating that either the Order be closed or "that an attempt be made to define more closely the nature and quality of the service for which it is to be conferred." The Order suffered from the same growing pains as the Bath. But it grew to maturity amazingly quickly. Although it is the newest of all British orders it has found a place that probably none of the others could have filled success-

fully. The British Empire is used to recognize the contributions of small people throughout the Commonwealth in every conceivable form of activity. The O. B. E. sent to a school teacher or nurse in some remote outpost in Canada or Africa has probably brought as much satisfaction as any Blue Ribbon bestowed with all the rich ceremony and restrained pomp of which the British Crown is such a recognized master. The Badge of the Order is a cross patee in silver gilt enamelled pearl grey and suspended from a gilt Imperial Crown. In the center there are conjoint crowned busts of their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary surrounded by an enamelled crimson circlet bearing the motto of the Order, "For God and the Empire." It is worn by Knights and Dames Grand Cross over the right shoulder resting on the left hip from a rose pink sash edged with pearl grey. Knights Commanders wear a smaller Cross at the neck from a similarly colored ribbon while Dames wear theirs from a bow of ribbon on the left side below the shoulder. The Badge for Commanders is the same as for Knights and Dames. The distinction lies in the Commanders not wearing a Star. Officers and members wear a smaller Badge of the same design as the higher ranks in the Order but of silver gilt and frosted silver, respectively, without any enamel. It is worn on the breast, medal fashion, by men and from a bow by women on the left side below the shoulder.

The Star of the G. B. E. is of chipped silver with eight principal points surmounted with the same

central device found on the Badge. That worn by Dames is slightly smaller than the Knights'. The K. B. E. Star is smaller, of a diamond shape, with four principal and four lesser points with the same central device found on the Grand Cross Star. The Collar of the Order was established some time in the middle 1920's. It is composed of six medallions of the Royal Arms and six medallions of the cypher of King George V linked together with cables. In the center is the Imperial Crown between two sea lions, from which is suspended the Grand Cross of the Order. The Collar is returnable on the decease of the Knight or upon receiving the first class of a higher Order. This design for the insignia was established for the Order in 1937 to commemorate the reign of King George V and Queen Mary. Between 1917 and 1937 the Badge of the Order was the same as described above except that in the center, surrounded by the crimson circlet and motto there was a seated figure of Britannia very closely resembling that on the bronze penny (Plate XXIX-XXXI). The ribbon of the Order was a dull purple with a narrow scarlet stripe added in the center for the military division. There never has been a difference in design between the insignia of the Civil and Military divisions. Today the latter is distinguished by the addition to the ribbon of a narrow central stripe in pearl grey. The Stars worn for the first twenty years were of the same design with the Britannia centerpiece but of plain fluted silver (Plate XXXII).

The statutes of the British Empire were the first to describe the insignia as being made of silver gilt. While the Collar has to be returned as noted above, there is the provision that members of the Order do not have to return their insignia on promotion to a higher class if it was awarded for services in the Great War. There have been two medals established with the Order that will be discussed in their proper place under decorations of valor.

The Order is still too new for any pertinent information about the insignia to have come to light. Nothing is yet known about the original design of the insignia or the reasons which led to the improvement in design in 1937. There are no variations in size and general construction or other distinctions that have come to the author's notice.

The Imperial Service Order

Before the creation of the Order of the British Empire there was no convenient means of rewarding the efforts of many lesser members of the Civil Service in administrative and clerical posts throughout the Empire. King Edward established the Imperial Service Order (I. S. O.) in 1902 to fill this need. Early in the reign of King George V the Order was extended to include women and the application of the Order was considerably broadened. Today it is limited to seven hundred Companions divided between the Home, Indian and Colonial Civil Services. Twenty-five years' service is required

before an individual is normally qualified for admission to the Order, although this is reduced to twenty years for service in India and sixteen years in unhealthy hot countries. In outstanding instances the Order can be bestowed before the recipients have satisfied the above time limits. There is also a medal given to those not eligible for the award of the Order.

The Badge of the Order is a silver eight-pointed Star with burnished rays. In the center there is a gold circular plaque bearing the Royal cypher in blue enamel surrounded by the motto "For Faithful Service" and surmounted by a large Imperial Crown enamelled in the proper colors and covering the upper rays of the star (Plate XXXIII). The ribbon is red, blue and red in equal stripes. The Badge for ladies consists of the plaque as above but it is surrounded by a silver laurel wreath. This Badge is worn from a bow on the left shoulder. The first medals of the Order were of the same design as the Badges but were executed in silver and bronze. Latterly this medal has been issued in silver and is circular in form, the obverse bearing the Sovereign's head while the reverse has the name of the recipient engraved thereon.

The Order of St. John of Jerusalem

The Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in the British Realm is in many respects an extraordinarily interesting institution. The Order has very little resemblance to any of the

other British Orders, either in its origins or present-day functions. Originally the Knights of St. John were a crusading organization founded in the eleventh century whose efforts were directed toward preserving the holy places in Palestine and relieving Crusaders. In succeeding centuries the Order became a powerful military organization with branches throughout Europe. The headquarters of the Order was first on the Island of Rhodes, and finally on Malta from which place it was driven out by Napoleon. The English branch was chartered by Queen Victoria in 1888. The Order renders services of immense value today. It supports the British Ophthalmic Hospital in Jerusalem and the work of the St. John's Ambulance Association and Brigade. The latter organization, for example, provides for: "(1) The dissemination of instruction in first aid, home nursing and hygiene, (2) The deposit in convenient places of stretchers, (3) The development of ambulance corps for the transport of the sick and wounded." Distinguished persons are admitted to the Order as well as individuals who do good work in the service of the Order. All admissions are sanctioned by the Sovereign after recommendation by the Chapter General and approval by the Grand Prior.

The insignia of the Knights of St. John adhere to the rigid simplicity that marked the Medieval institution. The Badge is a true Maltese cross enamelled white with lions and unicorns passant gardant alternately in the angles. The Star takes the form of a Maltese Cross enamelled white without

any embellishments in the angles (Plate XXXIV). The size of the insignia varies with each of the five classes of the Order. Bailiffs and Dames Grand Cross wear the Badge in gold, three and one-quarter inches in diameter, from a black watered silk ribbon over the right shoulder resting on the left hip. The Star, three and five-eighths inches in diameter is worn on the right hip. Knights and Dames of Justice wear a smaller badge in gold around the neck and on the left shoulder respectively. Their Star is gold. Knights and Dames of Grace wear similar insignia but set in silver instead of gold. The classes of Knights of Justice and of Grace are for all practical purposes merged today, but the Knights and Dames of Justice still have certain privileges and are required to have certain genealogical qualifications. The Order is aristocratic in its origins and at one time members had to have as many as sixteen quarterings on their coats of arms. "The term 'Knights of Justice' originally meant Knights who were noble by birth, while 'Knights of Grace' were those of non-noble family who were admitted to the Order for their attainments." Chaplains wear the same Badge as the Knights of Justice, slightly smaller, and do not wear the Star. Commanders wear the Badge of the Knights of Grace in the same manner. Officers wear a still smaller Badge on the left breast while Serving Brothers and Sisters have a circular medal bearing the Cross of St. John in silver on a black enamel background.

CHAPTER IV

THE INDIAN ORDERS

THE MOST EXALTED ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA

When the Crown took over the administration of India after the Mutiny, the British Government undertook a host of new responsibilities. One of these was the need of placating the Indian Princes and developing their loyalty to the throne. As an instrument in the policy of securing Princely co-operation as well as to reward the services of many distinguished men in the consolidation of the British position in India, the Order of the Star of India was established in February 1861. Like the other Orders in England it was composed of three classes, Knights Grand Commanders (G. C. S. I.), Knights Commanders (K. C. S. I.) and Companions (C. S. I.), whose total number was to be divided equally between Indians and British Subjects. The usual religious elements which were so marked in the other Orders were, for obvious reasons, not present in the Star of India. The practical twentieth century saw nothing incongruous in giving the Garter to Asiatic rulers but the mid-Victorian mind balked at bestowing a "Grand Cross" on a heathen and subject Prince. It would have been a doubtful political move to endow the new Order with a Cross for a Badge and a patron Saint in view of the importance of native religions in India. But all the other aspects

of an Order of Knighthood were established and the Viceroy, *pro tem*, was Grand Master and Principal Knight Grand Commander. This Order appears to have been the first, after the Garter, to admit women to its ranks. No provision is made in the statutes for women but in fact it has been bestowed on certain Indian Princesses-regnant. As far as is known no other lady except Her Majesty Queen Mary has been admitted.

The insignia of the Star of India are in many respects the most magnificent of any British Order. The *Illustrated London News* remarked primly in 1861, "A considerable degree of costliness has been, with an appropriateness to Eastern ideas, attached to this decoration, while there is an artistic embellishment about it which tones down the general effect and renders it at once rich and graceful." In view of the prevailing artistic tastes it is indeed remarkable that the design of the insignia has worn as well as it has. The collar, of gold, is composed of red and white roses, the lotus flower of India, and palm branches crossed and tied at their stems, placed alternately and linked with small gold chains. In the center there is an Imperial crown from which is suspended the Badge. It is frequently overlooked that there are two separate Badges for a Knight Grand Commander, both of the same design but executed in somewhat different materials. The investment Badge is an oval onyx cameo of Queen Victoria surrounded by a sky blue enamelled band bearing the motto of the order, "Heavenly Light Our

Guide" in diamonds. The band is encircled on its inner and outer edges with pearls and four arabesques in gold are distributed on the top, bottom and each side. The whole is suspended from a five-pointed star of diamonds. It is worn over the right shoulder resting on the left hip from a sash of sky blue with narrow white stripes at each edge. The collar Badge is much larger than the investment Badge and is not so heavily jewelled, the large star being executed in silver and only the motto in diamonds. The Badges of the Knights Commanders and Companions (Plate XXXV) are smaller editions of the Collar Badge and are worn at the neck. Until 1917 Companions wore their Badges on the breast.

The Star of a Knight Grand Commander is in a class by itself and bears not the slightest resemblance to that of any British Order. It is circular, three and one-half inches in diameter, composed of flaming rays of gold. In the center there is a sky blue enamelled ribbon, tied at the ends and bearing the motto of the Order in diamonds, on which rests a five-pointed star in diamonds (See Plate XXXVI). The Star of a Knight Commander is composed of eight points of flaming rays of silver with the motto in diamonds on a blue enamelled ribbon and the central star of silver on a gold background.

All insignia of this order are returnable on the death of a Knight to the Central Chancery of the Orders of Knighthood. It is rarely possible even to see a Star or a Badge unless it is worn by one of the Knights. In normal times the only public display of

the insignia of the Star of India is in the Jewel House of the Tower of London. The Star illustrated is, at the time of writing, in the possession of the Earl of Halifax, K. G.

The Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire

Queen Victoria founded a second Indian Order on January 1, 1878, to commemorate her assumption of the title of Empress of India. At first the Order of the Indian Empire was composed of companions who wore a very large Badge on the left breast. In 1887, however, the Order was changed to conform with other British Orders. It has three classes and serves as a junior Order to the Star of India. Like the latter, a certain number of places among the members are reserved for officers in the British and Indian Naval, Military and Air Forces.

The Collar of the Order is composed of plain gold elephants, peacocks in pride and lotuses, alternated and connected by gold chains. In the center there is an Imperial Crown of gold from which hangs the Badge. The Badge is in the form of a crowned five-petalled rose enamelled crimson with a green barb between each pair of petals. In the center there is a gold effigy of Queen Victoria surrounded by a purple enamelled band bearing the motto of the order "Imperatricis Auspiciis." (Plate XLII). The Badge is worn, as usual, from a sash officially described as "Imperial purple." In fact, the ribbon of the Indian Empire has always been a deep slate blue. The

Badges of the Knights Commanders and Companions are smaller than those of the Knights Grand Commanders and are worn at the neck. That worn by the original companions was the same size as the present Badge of the Grand Commanders and had the word "India" spelled out on the petals. The Star of a Grand Commander is composed of plain and scaled silver rays alternately with gold forming ten principal points with a centerpiece similar to that on the Badge. The Star of the Knight Commander is similar in shape but smaller, with the rays alternately bright and chipped. All of the insignia of this order must be returned on the death of the recipient except the Badge of the Companion.

The Imperial Order of the Crown of India

In addition to the Order of the Indian Empire, Queen Victoria established the Order of the Crown of India (C. I.) on January 1, 1878, for ladies. Today it is bestowed on "Princesses of His Majesty's Royal and Imperial House, the wives, or other female relatives of Indian Princes, and other Indian ladies, and on the wives or other female relatives of any persons who have held, now hold or may hereafter hold the office of Viceroy and Governor General of India, Governors of Madras, Bombay, or Bengal, or of Principal Secretary of State for India, or Commander in Chief in India as the Sovereign may think fit to appoint." Although the Order carries no

title or precedence it is a very select one whose numbers have always been extremely limited.

The only insignia of this Order is a jewelled Badge suspended from a bow of sky blue ribbon edged with white worn on the left shoulder. It is oval in shape composed of Queen Victoria's cypher V. R. I. in diamonds, pearls and turquoises, encircled by a border in pearls and surmounted by an Imperial Crown jewelled and enamelled in the proper colors. The Badge illustrated (Plate XXXVII) is worn (1945) by the Countess of Halifax.

CHAPTER V

MISCELLANEOUS ORDERS

The Royal Victorian Order

A natural consequence of the increasing control exercised by the Prime Minister over honors was a lowering of their value, particularly in the eyes of individuals who became eligible for the higher grades of the Orders. Men whose services made it impossible for them to be considered for anything less than a Grand Cross were frequently those men whose experiences behind the scenes in Government tended to make them somewhat cynical of all such distinctions. At the same time it was becoming obvious by the end of the century that there were many men deserving an award whose services could not be measured by any one of the rigid and limited standards of one of the senior Orders. The solution to these difficulties was first sought in the creation of a new Order organized on a distinctly new basis. Just how much Lord Salisbury had to do with the new arrangement is not known. But early in 1896 he wrote to Sir William Knollys, one of the Private Secretaries, apparently in reply to previous suggestions of Queen Victoria, that ". . . I have directed the Patents and statutes to be drafted in accordance with the Queen's Commands. I think it is wise to keep it entirely in her own hands if she is disposed to bear the expense, which ought not to be very large. People

will value it more as an expression of her own feelings; and if many decorations are given to foreigners it will be an advantage that the bestowal of them should be admittedly unconnected with current political controversies." The distinctive change which the new Order, called the Royal Victorian Order, embodies is that it remains the sole gift of the Sovereign. The Prime Minister is unable to nominate anyone for inclusion within its membership. Ordinary members admitted "shall be such persons as . . . having rendered extraordinary, or important or personal service to the Sovereign merit Royal Favour; and the Honorary Members of the several classes consist of those Foreign Princes and persons upon whom the Sovereign may think fit to confer the honor of being received into the Order." This Order was also the first to consist of more than the usual three classes. Two additional lower grades called "Members of the Fourth Class" and "Members of the Fifth Class" were added. There is also a medal of the Order that is conferred for services to the Royal Family on those whose position or accomplishments do not merit admission to the Order itself. The medals are issued in silver gilt, silver and bronze, and, unlike any other medal, those awarded one or more of the Royal Victorian medals may wear them all. Bars, however, are provided for the second award of either the gilt, silver, or bronze medals. The medals may also be worn with the insignia of the Order if the latter is conferred.

In its first two decades the Royal Victorian Order remained in an unclassified status. Queen Victoria bestowed it sparingly on people close to her either personally or officially. King Edward VII was less rigorous in his interpretation of "personal service." With no limitations placed on the numbers in the Order, the King tended to develop the habit of slipping the insignia into the hands of a number of his extraordinarily wide circle of acquaintances great and small. This was never carried to the point where the Order was in the slightest degree cheapened. No one in the world had a sharper appreciation of the value and function of an honor than King Edward. But the fact that he used it in such a completely personal sense may have tended to retard the development of the Order and restrict the service it could render.* Like so many other similar distinctions, the Victorian Order really came into its own during the reign of King George V. In the years following the last war it was widely used to reward the numerous literary and artistic achievements of distinguished men who were attached to the Royal Household in some capacity. It has remained a much more select distinction than the British Empire. As the personal gift of the King and completely disassociated from officialdom, it enjoys a unique prestige. King Edward VIII added the final touch when he opened its ranks to women in 1936, making

*This judgment is an entirely personal one of the author's based on references in the biographies and memoirs of people who figured in various capacities both personal and official in the Edwardian Court.

his Mother, Queen Mary, the first Dame Grand Cross. King George VI made Her Majesty the Queen Grand Master of the Order in 1937.

In 1902 Edward VII founded the "Royal Victorian Chain." This decoration is very difficult to classify. It is only awarded on very special occasions and seems largely restricted to foreign Princes and Rulers and high ranking members of the Royal entourage who have served the King in various non-political capacities for a long time. The chain is not, strictly speaking, a part of the Order. It confers no rank or precedence (Plate XLI).

The Badge of Knights and Dames Grand Cross is a white enamelled Maltese Cross, edged with gold. In the center is the cypher of Queen Victoria, V. R. I., mounted on an enamelled crimson oval surrounded by an oval border bearing the motto VICTORIA in gold, surmounted by an Imperial Crown (Plate XXXVIII). It is worn over the right shoulder resting on the left hip from a dark blue ribbon edged on either side with three narrow stripes, red, white and red. Knights Commanders and Commanders wear a similar Badge, smaller than the Grand Cross, from the collar, while Dames Commanders and all other female members of the Order wear their Badges from a bow below the left shoulder. The Badge established for Members of the Fourth Class is smaller than that of Commanders and is worn on the left breast. Members of the Fifth Class wear the same Badge as that appointed for Members of the Fourth Class but the arms of the cross are of

frosted silver (Plate XXXIX). The Grand Cross Star consists of a silver chipped star of eight principal points with a representation of the Badge of the Order in the center (Plate XL). Knights and Dames Commanders wear a Star composed of a Maltese Cross of silver with smaller rays of silver issuing from the center between the arms of the cross. In May 1912 King George V added a Collar to the insignia. The collar is described as "of gold composed of octagonal oblong perforated frames linked together with gold; the pieces shall be edged and ornamented with gold and shall contain upon a blue enamelled ground a gold rose jeweled with a carbuncle. The said frames shall each contain a portion of the inscription 'Victoria Britt. Reg. Def. Fid. Ind. Imp.' in letters of white enamel. In the center of the said collar shall be within a perforated frame of gold an octagonal piece enamelled blue, edged with red and charged with a white sattire on which shall be a gold medallion of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria's effigy from which shall hang the Cross of the Order." The Collar is the only portion of the insignia returnable upon the death of the recipient. The Royal Victorian medals in gilt, silver and bronze are oval and bear on the obverse the portrait of the reigning Sovereign and on the reverse the Royal cypher on an ornamental shield within a wreath of laurel. Early issues were surmounted by a crown. The Royal Victorian Chain is composed of three Tudor roses, two thistles, two shamrocks and two lotus flowers connected by a slender double trace

chain all in gold. From the centerpiece of the chain, an enamelled cypher of King Edward VII surrounded by a wreath and surmounted by a crown, a replica of the Grand Cross is suspended. The specimen in the illustration (Plate XLI) is at present (1945) worn by the Earl of Athlone K. G.

Although the insignia of the Victorian Order is described as being made of gold, like a number of the other Orders, it is silver gilt or rather silver with a light gold wash. Each piece is numbered, but the numbers do not seem to bear any relation to the total number of pieces issued. A Star and Badge of a Grand Cross or Knight Commander bear the same number. None of these pieces have been observed by the author to be hallmarked. The entire expense of the Order and its insignia, it is believed, is still borne by the Privy purse.

The Order of Merit

It was left to King Edward VII to establish one of the most coveted distinctions in the whole hierarchy of British honors. The Order of Merit was designed to confer special distinction on men in the fields of art, science, literature and, in a very small number of cases, war. It is limited in number to twenty-four with the addition of such distinguished foreigners as the King may see fit to appoint. Like the Victorian Order, its bestowal lies solely in the hands of the Sovereign. Nothing but absolute supremacy and distinction in a particular field makes a man eligible to receive it. The Order carries no

title or rank with it but recipients may place the letters O. M. after their names. Removed as it is from all controversy, the Order has been worn proudly by men who have made such individual contributions to the history and development of their times that their names will not be forgotten. The only female member since the founding of the order was Florence Nightingale.

The insignia of the Order is a gold cross pattee, slightly convexed, enamelled red, edged with blue and gold, surmounted by a Tudor Crown. In the center on the obverse are the words "For Merit" on a blue enamelled ground encircled by a band of white enamelled beads and a laurel wreath. The reverse has a similar central device containing the Royal cypher. The Badge of military members has crossed swords between the arms of the cross (Plate XLII). All Badges are suspended from the neck by a ribbon half crimson and half garter blue. The ribbon of the Order alone originally was never worn on the coat by military members because regulations say that men in uniform shall wear the Badge at all times. In practice, of course, they do not. The regulations have been changed to permit using the ribbon with service dress. The insignia may be retained by relatives on the decease of a member.

The Companions of Honour

The Order of the Companions of Honour was founded, with the Order of the British Empire, in June 1917. It is for all practical purposes a junior

Order of Merit. It carries no title or precedence and it is limited to fifty members. The Badge consists of a gold medallion depicting an armored knight on horseback beside an oak from a branch of which a shield is suspended containing the Royal Arms. An oval border of blue bearing the motto "In action faithful and in honor clear" surrounds the medallion. The whole is surmounted by a crown (Plate XLII). The ribbon is carmine with borders of gold thread. It is worn at the neck by men and from a bow just below the left shoulder by women.

The Household Orders

There are three orders associated only with the Court and given only to ladies. The earliest of these is the Order of Victoria and Albert instituted by Queen Victoria on February 10, 1862. It was conferred as a mark of personal regard and favour on foreign Queens and Princesses, on members of the Royal Family, and on titled persons closely associated with the Queen. It has not been conferred since 1901. In 1944 there were twelve surviving members including Queen Mary and Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands.

The Order of Victoria and Albert was divided into four classes. The insignia of the first two classes is composed of an oval shaped onyx cameo showing the busts of the Queen and the Prince Consort, surrounded by square cut diamonds, surmounted by an Imperial Crown in diamonds and suspended from a white silk bow (Plate XLIII). The Badge of the

third class is similar, but surrounded by pearls, while the fourth class is a diamond cypher of the Queen and her husband.

The modern counterparts of this order were created by King George V and King George VI. They are known as "Family Orders." The insignia is composed of an enamelled portrait of either George V or George VI, surrounded by diamonds and surmounted by a crown. The former is suspended from a bow of light blue while the ribbon of the latter is light pink. The Badges of the Order of Victoria and Albert and King George V's Family Order illustrated (Plate XLIV) are at present in the possession of H. R. H. Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone.

CHAPTER VI

MILITARY DECORATIONS

The Order of British India

The custom of presenting awards for acts of individual military merit was not established on an organized basis until early in the reign of Queen Victoria. In certain spectacular cases Parliament had ordered special gold medals to be struck and presented to the individuals concerned. But these medals were not "decorations." The Honourable East India Company apparently established the first decorations in 1837. In that year two decorations, the Order of British India and the Indian Order of Merit, were created for the officers and men of the Company's troops in India. These are still in existence. The Order of British India is bestowed on native officers of the Indian Army who have rendered especially long and faithful service. There are two classes of the Order, and an addition in pay is granted to the members. The Badge of the first class consists of an octagonal radiated gold star one and five-eighths inches in diameter with a gold lion on a light blue field in the center surrounded by a dark blue enamel band bearing the legend "Order of British India." The whole central device is encircled by a gold laurel wreath and surmounted by an Imperial Crown. The Badge of the second class is similar but only one and one-half inches in diam-

eter. The lion is on a dark blue field and the crown is omitted. These Badges are suspended around the neck by a crimson ribbon. A change in the statute of the Order in 1939 provided that, when the ribbon of the Order was worn alone, the first class should show two thin vertical lines of blue in the center and the second class one line of blue.

The Indian Order of Merit

The Indian Order of Merit was established "to afford personal reward for personal bravery without reference to any claims founded on mere length of service and general good conduct." It consists of three classes. Admission to the first class is granted only to those who already possess the second and third classes. The third class, as the original warrant states "is to be obtained by any conspicuous act of individual gallantry on the part of any native officer or soldiers in the field, or in the attack or defense of fortified places without distinction of rank or grade." This decoration was in fact the prototype of the famous Victoria Cross and of all other similar awards created later in the century. The Badge of the Order is a burnished star of eight points, one and one-half inches in diameter, with a central device consisting of two crossed swords on a blue enamel ground surrounded by the inscription "Reward for Valor" and a laurel wreath (Plate XLV). The Badge of the first class is executed entirely in gold, that of the second class has the central device in

gold and the star of silver, while the third class Badge is of silver. The decoration is suspended from a dark blue ribbon with red edges one and one-half inches wide and is worn on the left breast. In 1939 this Order was divided into a military and a civil division. The Badge of the military division remained as it is described above. The Badge of the civil division is a similar eight-pointed star in silver. The center device is, however, different. In this case the laurel wreath encircles the words "For Bravery" surrounding the Royal cypher in gold on a dark blue ground. The Ribbon is dark red with blue edges. When the Crown undertook the responsibility for governing India directly in 1858 both these decorations were taken over and continue to be two of the principal awards for native Indian soldiers.

The existence of two decorations for the native troops of a great corporation while none was provided for members of the British Army and Navy is difficult to explain. One can surmise, however, that the forty years of peace after the Napoleonic Wars was an important factor in retarding the establishment of similar distinction. What fighting there was took place in India, as the growing list of medals for Indian campaigns between 1824 and 1845 shows. While British troops took part in these engagements, their number was small and their exploits were not particularly noticed by a nation engrossed in an expanding industrial system.

The Meritorious Service Medal

The first tentative step to remedy the deficiency was taken in 1845 when the Meritorious Service Medal was established "to afford greater encouragement to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of our Army who may have distinguished themselves or who may have given good, faithful and efficient service." In 1849 the medal was made available to the Royal Marines. It is noticeable that the terms under which the new decoration was to be distributed made no mention of services under fire. The Meritorious Service Medal was, in fact, merely an award for efficient service, and not for gallantry. Significantly, it seems to have fallen into abeyance in the few short years between the date of its foundation and the beginning of the Crimean War, at which time it was replaced. In 1884, however, it was again reinstated, only to drag out an obscure existence until the Great War. At that time the Medal was extended to the Navy and the Royal Air Force. The terms of award were made more rigid. It is available for enlisted personnel in the Navy "for arduous and specially meritorious service either afloat or ashore not in action with the enemy; for a specific act of gallantry in the performance of duty when not in the presence of the enemy." In the Army it may also be given for "saving or attempting to save the life of an officer or soldier or for devotion to duty in the theater of war." While the terms vary slightly for the three services, the intent is the same: to reward conspicuous service

not involving actual combat. The Meritorious Service Medal is circular, one and four-tenths inches in diameter, bearing the reigning sovereign's head on the obverse and the inscription "For Meritorious Service" surrounded by a laurel wreath with an Imperial Crown in the apex on the reverse. Victorian specimens have Wyon's diademed head of the young Queen. Army and Navy specimens show the sovereign in the appropriate uniform, while the Air Force medal has the truncated head of the Sovereign as found on the coinage. The original ribbons were crimson for the Army and blue for the Marines. Today the ribbon for the Army and Navy and Marines is crimson with three narrow white stripes placed on either edge and in the center. The Air Force ribbon is half crimson and half blue with the stripes placed as above. Bars are granted in place of a second award to the same individual, but very few have been given.

The Distinguished Conduct Medal

The years of comparative peace in Europe were finally broken in 1854 by the Crimean War. The British Army was involved on foreign soil on a relatively large scale for the first time since 1815. The fact that there were no awards for gallantry in action available was finally brought home to the Government. In 1854, therefore, one of the most highly prized distinctions now available to the British soldier, the medal "For Distinguished Con-

duct in the Field," (D. C. M.), was established as an indication of the "Sovereign's sense of the distinguished service and gallant conduct in the field of the army then serving in the Crimea." The Distinguished Conduct Medal was made available to non-commissioned officers and men. The medal is a circular silver piece one and four-tenths inches in diameter, bearing the legend "For Distinguished Conduct in the Field" in rather unattractively plain lettering on the reverse. The Victorian specimens have, on the obverse, a miscellaneous collection of cannon, muskets, cannon balls, drums, bugles, standards and three Greek helmets thrown in for good measure, all grouped around an oval shield bearing the Royal Arms (Plates XLVI, XLVII). The obverse of Edwardian and Georgian medals (Plate XLVIII) shows the sovereign's bust in Field Marshal's full dress uniform. The ribbon is crimson, dark blue and crimson, in equal stripes. The name of the recipient and sometimes the date of the action are engraved on the edge. This medal was perhaps too freely given during the Great War. Twenty-five thousand were awarded between 1914 and 1918. It is nevertheless very highly prized.

The Conspicuous Gallantry Medal

In 1855 a decoration similar to the D. C. M. but called "The Medal For Conspicuous Gallantry" (C. G. M.) was established for the Navy, to be awarded to petty officers, sailors, and non-commis-

sioned officers and privates in the marines who had distinguished themselves in the Crimea in action with the enemy. As a result of the restriction of the award of the medal to the Crimean War it lapsed after 1856, and was not reinstituted until 1874. The Conspicuous Gallantry Medal has always been sparingly bestowed. The standards for its award are not necessarily higher than those for the D. C. M. The opportunities of winning it until the War that began in 1939 were limited because a great deal of the active service of the Navy was not service under fire. From 1914 until 1938 only 110 were distributed. The medal is of silver of the standard size with the effigy of the reigning sovereign on the obverse in naval uniform. Victorian specimens show the diademed youthful head of the Queen. The reverse has the inscription "For Conspicuous Gallantry" surrounded by a laurel wreath and surmounted by an Imperial Crown (Plate XLIX). The first group of these medals were prepared from the dies of the Meritorious Service medal. The legend "Meritorious Service" was erased from the die and "Conspicuous Gallantry" engraved in their place on the face of the medal while the "for" remained in raised letters. New dies were made for those medals issued after 1874, however, and a straight suspender was provided in place of the scrolled ornamental suspenders used on the Crimean issues. From 1855 until 1921 the ribbon for the C. G. M. was blue, white and blue in equal stripes. In the latter year, however, this ribbon was replaced by the ribbon of the old Naval

General Service medal, a white ribbon with a narrow blue stripe on either edge.

The Victoria Cross

The institution of the Distinguished Conduct and Conspicuous Gallantry medals only partially filled the need for some sort of distinction for lower commissioned and enlisted grades in the Services. A combination of forces were at work to make this need felt more strongly than ever before. The Crimean war was horribly mismanaged by officers trained in peacetime routines. For the first time military operations were extensively covered by the press. Mr. W. H. Russell of the London *Times* wrote scathing exposés of the conditions on the Crimean Peninsula that publicized the services of the individual soldier in a way that had never been done before. Public interest was thus directed to both the plight and accomplishments of the junior officer and enlisted men. Hitherto official communiqués had stressed the role of the general and regimental commanding officers rather than the men who did the fighting. The Queen had a woman's appreciation and understanding of the services rendered by her soldiers, many of whom were recently drafted boys of seventeen and eighteen. It was apparently on her own initiative, strongly supported by the Prince Consort, that she took steps to institute a new decoration called the Victoria Cross (V. C.) to reward outstanding individual services performed in

combat with the enemy. The preamble to the Royal Warrant of January 29, 1856, establishing the Cross reads in part, "Whereas, We, taking into our Royal consideration that there exists no means of adequately rewarding the individual gallant services either of the officers of the lower grades in our naval and military service, or of warrant and petty officers, seamen and marines in our Navy, and non-commissioned officers and soldiers in our Army; and whereas the third class of our most honorable order of the Bath is limited except in very rare cases, to the higher ranks of both services and the granting of medals . . . is only awarded for long service or meritorious conduct, rather than for bravery in action or distinction before an enemy . . . and (that) those who by their valor have particularly signalized themselves remain undistinguished from their comrades: Now for the purpose of attaining an end so desirable as that of rewarding individual instances of merit and valor, We . . . institute a new naval and military decoration which we are desirous shall be highly prized and eagerly sought after by the officers and men of our naval and military services . . ." The creation of the Victoria Cross represents the culmination of the trend that began early in the century to provide the small man with some tangible form of public recognition for services involving something more than his own immediate self-interest. After 1856 the principle was firmly established. It only remained for succeeding generations to broaden application to the point where the contributions of

civilians and women were considered to be on a par with the military.

The conditions governing the award of the V. C. have been changed slightly from time to time as the immediate circumstances seemed to justify. The original qualification for the decoration was service in the presence of the enemy and "performance of some signal act of valor or devotion to their country" by members of the armed forces. During the Indian Mutiny a number of civilians who served with the troops were declared eligible for the decoration. Subsequently chaplains, reserve officers and native Indian soldiers were made eligible. In 1858 a new warrant was issued permitting the Cross to be conferred for services "under circumstances of extreme danger, such as the occurrence of a fire on board ship, or of the foundering of a vessel at sea, or under any circumstances in which through courage and devotion displayed, life or public property may be saved." This warrant was hardly in accordance with the spirit of the original one establishing a unique military decoration. Actually only one award was made while it remained in force. This cross was given to Private Timothy O'Hea, 1st Battalion Rifle Brigade, in 1866, for his initiative in extinguishing a bad fire in a railway car loaded with explosives. It is now in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, New York City (See Plates L, LI). Since these warrants raised doubts about the qualification required for the decoration, a new warrant was issued in 1881 in which the warrant of

1858 was annulled and "conspicuous bravery or devotion to the country in the presence of the enemy" was established as the only type of service for which the V. C. could be granted.

It is not intended here to enter into a discussion of the circumstances under which any of the eleven hundred V. C.'s issued since 1856 were won. But it should be pointed out that in modern war the decoration is harder to win than ever before. The element of personal combat which once justified a decoration for saving the regimental colors, for example, has largely been removed. Not only are the colors left at home but it is to be doubted if saving them would carry as much weight today as it once did. A multiplication of decorations junior to the V. C. and the tremendous increase in the number of fighting personnel have also contributed to making the decoration harder to win. In the case where a large group of men takes part in an action of great gallantry that is so confused as to prevent any one person being selected, regulations have been established to permit award of the Cross to be made by ballot. At one time an act of outstanding individual valor was sufficient to merit the Cross. Today the essential change in conditions of award is indicated by the fact that the act of valor is not enough in itself. It must contribute materially to the success of the engagement in which it occurs.

The Prince Consort is credited with the design for the Victoria Cross. In form it is a bronze cross pattee, one and one-half inches in diameter. In the center

there is a British crown, surmounted by a lion passant gardant, with a ribbon inscribed "For Valour" looped beneath it with the ends tucked beneath and over the double raised border. The reverse is plain, with raised edges, and is always engraved with the date of the action which gained the award. On the upper limb there is a pierced semicircular lug through which an oval link passes to attach the cross to a laureated bar by a rigid V. The name and ship or regiment of the recipient is engraved on the reverse of this bar. The decoration is suspended on the left breast by a claret crimson ribbon. The ribbon was once crimson for the Army and blue for the Navy but was changed to the present color during the Great War. When the ribbon alone is worn in uniform a small bronze replica of the Cross is attached to it. A bar for the second award of the Cross is attached to the ribbon in the center when the decoration is worn. Material for the V. C.'s was first obtained from a Russian gun captured in the Crimea. When this gave out, a Chinese gun was used. The V. C. is manufactured by a private firm for the government. It is first cast and then carefully chased by hand to bring out the detail. The toughness of the metal does not lend itself readily to striking. When finished it is lacquered a deep black brown. On older Crosses the original lacquer has long since worn off—a fact which tends to obscure the essential gracefulness of the design. Examination of a few Crosses seems to indicate that the workmanship and

chasing on those of modern issue is much finer than on the earlier pieces.

Recipients of the V. C. are, if below the rank of commissioned officer, allowed a pension of £10 per annum with a £5 increase for each additional bar. In the case where a recipient has fallen on hard times the pension may be increased to £75. The decoration cannot be sold during the lifetime of the holder. Until 1902 those Crosses awarded posthumously were not given to the relatives of the deceased. In that year, however, King Edward directed that all posthumous Crosses awarded from 1856 be given to the family representatives of the men who had won them. All holders of the Cross have the right to carry the initials V. C. in large gothic capitals immediately after their name and before the initials of any other Order or decoration.

The long history of the Victoria Cross and the traditions which have been built up around it have contributed to make it the outstanding decoration of its kind today. It stands first among all British Orders and decorations and first among all awards of gallantry. Other nations have paid it the tribute of sincere imitation. It can be safely said that the value of any similar foreign decoration is high in proportion to the success in which it approaches the standards set for the V. C.

The Royal Red Cross

The Royal Red Cross (R. R. C.) was instituted by Queen Victoria in 1883. It is "the first example of

an English Military Order of Distinction" for women. When the Queen wished to honor Florence Nightingale she was forced to have a special brooch designed for the purpose. The R. R. C., established to recognize the services "rendered by certain persons in nursing the sick and wounded of Our army and navy," filled a definite need. The decoration is conferred, without restrictions as to the rank of the recipient, on British and foreign nurses who have rendered exceptional service in military and navy nursing either in peace or war. During the Great War a second class of the R. R. C. was established and the members were termed "Associates."

The Badge of the first class is a silver gilt cross pattee enamelled crimson, edged in gilt with the words "Faith," "Hope," "Charity," and the date "1883" on each limb of the cross. In the center there is a circular gold plaque bearing the effigy of the reigning sovereign (Plate XLII). The reverse is plain silver gilt with the Royal cypher in place of the sovereign's head. These badges were at one time executed entirely in gold rather than silver gilt. The cross of the second class is frosted silver and the sovereign's head executed in silver. The decoration is worn on the left shoulder from a bow of deep blue ribbon edged with red.

The Distinguished Service Order

In spite of the numerous awards that had been created, there was a big gap between the only decora-

tion available for officers, the Victoria Cross, and the third class of the Order of the Bath, in which no service could be rewarded by any other means than a brevet promotion. To fill this gap Queen Victoria founded a new military Order called the Distinguished Service Order (D. S. O.) in 1886. The royal warrant stated that it was a "Military Order of distinction" created for the purpose of "rewarding individual instances of meritorious or distinguished service in war." The number of members was to be unlimited and, to be eligible, an officer had to be mentioned in dispatches by his Commander in Chief in the field. It is plain that under the terms of its institution the D. S. O. was an Order and not a decoration. That this was the intention of the founder is shown by a large volume of official correspondence on the whole problem in which the creation of a fifth class of the Order of the Bath was discussed. In the course of time, however, the D. S. O. was changed into a decoration for gallantry ranking second only to the V. C. The fact that the Order could be awarded for "meritorious or distinguished service in the field" was a source of great confusion during the Great War. "Meritorious service" meant too many things to too many people. There is no doubt that the Order was given entirely too freely under conditions that approached the scandalous. Staff officers and others whose contribution to the war effort was more decorative than functional were included in its ranks in large numbers. This state of affairs was changed after 1918.

Finally under the warrant of February 5, 1931, the qualifications for award were clearly stated to be mention in dispatches "for distinguished services under fire, or under conditions equivalent to service in actual combat with the enemy." As a result, the prestige of the Distinguished Service Order, backed by a fine military tradition, is very high.

The Badge of the D. S. O. is a "gold cross enamelled white and edged gold, having on one side thereof in the center within a wreath of laurel enamelled green, the Imperial Crown in gold, upon a red enamelled ground, and on the reverse, within a similar wreath and on a similar red ground, Our Imperial and Royal cypher V. R. I. (Plate LIII, LIV)." Of course, the cypher V. R. I. has changed under succeeding reigns (Plate LV) and silver gilt is used in place of gold. The cross is one and five-eighths inches in diameter and hangs from its ribbon by a gold laureated bar. A similar bar is fixed to the top of the ribbon, which is one inch wide, red with a narrow blue stripe on either edge. For an act justifying a second award of the Order to the same person a bar is granted to be worn fixed to the ribbon. In the Great War 1914-18 there were 8991 crosses of the Order awarded without bar, 705 with one bar, 71 with two bars and 7 with three bars.

Modern Decorations

Before the Great War the problem of distributing decorations and medals was simplified by the fact that relatively few individuals were eligible for such

distinctions. By 1914 a tightly knit system had been developed that provided one supreme award for military valor open to all ranks in both branches of the service—the Victoria Cross. In addition, there was a series of secondary decorations available for acts not justifying the bestowal of the V. C. The Distinguished Service Order was restricted to officers. Non-commissioned officers and men of the Navy could be awarded the Conspicuous Gallantry Medal, and similar ranks in the army, the Medal For Distinguished Conduct in the Field on the same basis that officers received the D. S. O. In 1914 it speedily became apparent that the mobilization of armies on a scale unknown before created a problem that could not be solved by issuing the existing decorations. Such a course could only result in the old distinctions losing much of their value in the eyes of their holders. On the other hand, if the traditional standards for the existing awards were to be rigidly maintained, they would hardly be able to serve the purpose they had in the past. Too sparse a distribution can do just as much harm to the reputation of an Honor as distribution with too liberal a hand. The solution for this dilemma was to create a whole series of new distinctions in each of the categories described above. In every case the new honor was junior to the older one and to be more freely distributed. Finally, by 1918 the activities of the Royal Flying Corps had expanded to the point where a special series of decorations for Air was created.

Naval Decorations

At the beginning of the War there already existed a naval decoration junior to the D. S. O. but senior to the C. G. M. This was the Conspicuous Service Cross instituted in June 1901 for bestowal on warrant officers and subordinate officers of the Fleet for "distinguished service before the enemy." In October 1914 the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty were "of the opinion that it would be desirable to enable the said Cross to be granted to commissioned officers" below the rank of Lieutenant Commander "for meritorious or distinguished services in cases where those services may not be considered sufficient to warrant the appointment of such officers to the Distinguished Service Order." The King agreed to the request made by the Lords Commissioners and the scope of the Cross was extended accordingly. At the same time the name was changed to Distinguished Service Cross, but the design remained essentially the same. Both decorations also retained the qualification of mention of the prospective recipient's name in dispatches before he could be nominated for the honor. In 1939 a further change in the regulations took place when Commanders and Lieutenant Commanders in the Navy were also declared eligible for the D. S. C. The Cross has been conferred on the City of Dunkirk for the contributions of her inhabitants to the allied cause 1914-1918.

The D. S. C. is of the same general appearance as the D. S. O. but executed in plain frosted silver. The obverse is convexed, and in the center the Royal cypher is surrounded by a raised border. The reverse is plain. It is suspended by a ribbon of three equal stripes, blue, white and blue threaded through a heavy silver ring (Plate LVI).

A new decoration for petty officers and ratings called the Distinguished Service Medal was also established in October 1914. This medal was to be awarded to such men "as may at any time show themselves to the fore in action, and set an example of bravery and resource under fire without performing acts of such preeminent bravery as would render them eligible for the Conspicuous Gallantry Medal."

The design of the D. S. M. is the same as the C. G. M. except that the reverse reads "For Distinguished Service" within the wreath. The ribbon is dark blue with two white stripes separated by a narrow blue stripe in the center (Plate LVII.)

Army Decorations

On December 31, 1914, the creation of a military decoration equivalent to the naval D. S. C., to be known as the Military Cross, was announced. Captains, commissioned officers of lower grades and warrant officers of the British and Imperial forces for "distinguished and meritorious services" were eligible. Foreign officers and Air Force officers of equivalent ranks were also eligible. The award of the

Cross is made on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for War or by a Commander in Chief in the field. Again, owing to a very liberal interpretation of "distinguished and meritorious services" the Military Cross was given with a great deal of freedom. A total of 41,261 were awarded in the years 1914-18. In an attempt to remedy this state of affairs the qualifications for the decorations were changed to "services in action" in 1918. A further warrant in 1931 provided that it should be awarded to officers not above the substantive rank of major "for gallant and distinguished services in action."

The Military Cross is of a very simple and effective design. It is a plain cross in silver flared at the end of each limb. Resting upon it is a smaller cross with the Royal cypher in the center and Imperial Crowns at the tips of each of its limbs. The ribbon is striped equally, white, purple and white, and is threaded through a plain silver slat bar. Like all other decorations the M. C. has a provision for the award of a bar in place of a second cross to the same person for further services. The bar is worn on the ribbon (Plates LVIII-LIX).

In 1916 an award junior to the Distinguished Conduct Medal was created. This decoration, called the Military Medal, can be awarded on the recommendation of the Commander in Chief in the field to enlisted men, non-commissioned and warrant officers, women and foreign persons "who have shown bravery and devotion under fire." The obverse of the medal shows the sovereign's portrait

in Field Marshal's uniform and "on the reverse the words 'For Bravery in the Field' encircled by a wreath and surmounted by the Royal cypher and a crown." The ribbon is dark blue with three white and two crimson stripes alternating in the center (Plates LX, LXI).

Air Force Decorations

The record of the Royal Flying Corps, later the Royal Air Force, was so distinguished during the last war that it was deemed advisable to create a special series of air awards in 1918. The result was the creation of the Distinguished Flying Cross and Air Force Cross and the Distinguished Flying Medal and Air Force Medal. The Distinguished Flying Cross "shall be granted only to such Officers and Warrant Officers of Our said Forces as shall be recommended to us for an act or acts of valour, courage, or devotion to duty performed whilst flying in active operations against the enemy." The Air Force Cross is awarded in peace time to such Officers and Warrant Officers "as shall be recommended to us for an act or acts of valour, courage, or devotion to duty whilst flying though not in active operations against the enemy, and may also be granted to individuals not belonging to an Air Force who render distinguished service to aviation while actually flying." The Distinguished Flying and Air Force Medals are the counterparts of the two Crosses, but for non-commissioned officers and enlisted men.

The design of the decorations for airmen is excessively ornate and almost defies coherent description. The second paragraph of the Warrant of December 1919 describes the Distinguished Flying Cross as a silver "cross flory terminated in the horizontal and base bars with bombs, the upper bar terminating in a rose surmounted by another cross composed of aeroplane propellers charged in the center with a roundel, within a wreath of laurels a rose winged ensigned by an Imperial Crown, thereon the letters R. A. F. The whole is attached to the clasp and ribbon by two sprigs of laurel." It is worn "on the left breast pendant from a ribbon one inch and one-quarter in width which shall be in color violet and white alternate diagonal stripes of one-eighth inch in width running at an angle of forty-five degrees from left to right (Plates LXII, LXIII)." The Air Force Cross, of silver, consists "of a thunderbolt in the form of a cross the arms conjoined by wings, the base bar terminating with a bomb, surmounted by another cross composed of aeroplane propellers, the four ends enscribed with G. V. R. I. In the center a roundel, thereon a representation of Hermes mounted on a hawk in flight bestowing a wreath. On the reverse the Royal cypher above the date 1918. The whole ensigned by an Imperial Crown and attached to the clasp and ribbon by two sprigs of laurel." The ribbon is similar to that of the previously described Cross but the narrow stripes are red (Plates LXIV, LXV). The Distinguished Flying Medal is an oval silver medal with the

Sovereign's head on the face and on the reverse "within a wreath of laurel a representation of Athena Nike seated on an aeroplane, a hawk rising from her right arm above the words 'For Courage.' The whole ensigned by a bomb attached to the clasp and ribbon by two wings (Plates LXVI, LXVII)." The Air Force Medal is oval likewise, the Sovereign's head on the face, and on the reverse the same device that appears in the center of the Air Force Cross. Both medals are suspended from ribbons similar to the crosses except that the colored stripes are narrower.

One can hardly escape the conclusion that these decorations appear to greater advantage in the cases of issue than on the breasts of the men who so gallantly earn them. The design is so complex that the symbolism is obscured by a mass of detail. In addition, the decorations are oversize and do not go well with the other medals with which they are frequently worn. They are, in short, the most poorly designed decorations of the whole British series.

The Empire Gallantry Medal

A medal of the Order of the British Empire was established with the Order in 1917. In 1918 a military and civil division were also provided for the medal. The medal was awarded from 1917 until 1922 for both gallant and meritorious services to 405 persons. Unfortunately this decoration lacked a certain distinction because it was not possible to tell for

what class or type of service it had been conferred. In 1922 it was discontinued and replaced by two medals: the Medal of the Order of the British Empire for Gallantry and the medal of the Order of the British Empire for Meritorious Service. Both were provided with military and civil divisions. The Empire Gallantry Medal was awarded irrespective of rank, sex or occupation for acts of conspicuous gallantry for which no other decoration appears particularly fitted. From 1922 until 1938 there were only about 100 of these medals awarded. The position of the Empire Gallantry Medal is difficult to evaluate. It has been given very sparingly and only for acts of outstanding merit. Yet the prestige of the decoration has not been particularly high. No attempt, until the present war, seems to have been made to call public attention to the deeds of the winners. In the first few months of the war, however, the E. G. M. emerged from obscurity to take a position in the public eye that seemed second only to the Victoria Cross. The heavy air raids were marked by many acts of unusual devotion to duty that were distinguished by the award of this medal. The ambiguity surrounding the position of the decoration was finally removed in 1940, when it was superseded by the George Cross. All the holders of the Gallantry Medal received the new Cross, ranked with but after the Victoria Cross. The Empire Medal for Meritorious Service was not affected by this change. It is still given for outstanding services of many kinds. The military Division is restricted to

grades below that of Warrant Officer, and in the Civil Division to persons not eligible for one of the grades of the Order of the British Empire.

The original medal of the Order was greyed silver with a seated Britannia surrounded by the motto of the Order on the obverse, and the Royal cypher on the reverse. The color of the ribbon was plum (Plate LXVIII). The Gallantry medal is larger and bears a different rendering of Britannia and the motto on the obverse with the addition of the words "For Gallantry" (Plate LXIX). During the reign of King George V the reverse bore the cypher G. R.V. I. within a circle of lions rampant. During the present reign this cypher has been changed to plain G. R. I. and the words "Founded by King George V" added. The medal is suspended from a laureated silver clasp from the distinctive pink ribbon of the Order. A silver laurel spray is worn on the ribbon. When the ribbon alone is worn in uniform a silver rosette was pinned on it to distinguish it from the Order. The Empire Meritorious Service Medal is similar to the Gallantry Medal but the clasp is ornamented with oak leaves and no laurel spray is worn on the ribbon (Plate LXX).

The Order of Burma and the Burma Gallantry Medal

The most recent awards available for services rendered by native troops are the Order of Burma and the Burma Gallantry Medal. The former is the

counterpart of the Order of British India. The Badge is one and one-half inches in diameter in the form of rays of gold issuing from a gold medallion charged with a peacock on a blue ground encircled with the words "Order of Burma" and surmounted by an Imperial Crown. It is suspended from a ribbon of dark green, edged with light blue one and one-half inches in width.

The Burma Gallantry Medal is available for any act of conspicuous gallantry performed by Burmese officers, non-commissioned officers, or other ranks. The medal is silver, of the same size as other decorations of a similar nature given to British troops. The face shows the head of the King-Emperor. The reverse is charged with the words "Burma For Gallantry" within a laurel wreath. The ribbon is dark green with a one-quarter inch red stripe in the center.

CHAPTER VII

CIVIL DECORATIONS

Probably the least well known of all the British honors are the civilian decorations for gallantry. The obscurity that has surrounded these awards is regrettable. Not only do they represent acts of self-sacrifice which are in no sense inferior to those for which military decorations are bestowed, but the self-sacrifice is rendered in everyday walks of life, often in dirty, unglamorous jobs and seldom with the moral support of a nation engaged in a common organized effort. In every sense, the civil distinctions are united, in the spirit of the service which they represent, with the highest traditions that were so potent a force in the medieval ideal of Knighthood and Chivalry. The Albert Medal may seem to bear little resemblance to the exalted distinction of the Garter, but the ultimate realities underlying both distinctions are not dissimilar.

The Albert Medal

The Albert Medal, until the creation of the George Cross, stood first among the civil decorations. It "is the civilian's Victoria Cross, foremost among non-military British decorations in saving, or attempting to save life by land or sea." The medal is not, however, purely a life saving decoration, but has a much broader application. It is most frequently given to

men whose decisive action in a critical moment prevented a disaster that would have cost many lives. Sir Arnold Wilson and Mr. J. F. H. McEwen in their book *Gallantry* observe, "The chief criterion used to measure the standard of performance of those whose gallant acts . . . have brought their names under consideration for the award of the Albert Medal is that the rescuer must seriously imperil his own life under conditions which make his survival unlikely. In the case of the Albert Medal in gold the act must have placed the recipient's life at the extremest hazard, or the risk must have been incurred more than once on the same occasion." Between 1866 and 1938 there were only 632 awards of the medal.

The original suggestion for the medal appears to have been made to the Queen in December 1864 by the then Home Secretary, Mr. Milner Gibson. Subsequent discussion of the matter permitted a most revealing insight into the official mind. Sir Charles Phipps and General Grey, the Queen's Secretary, were in agreement. They were "both of the opinion that two new principles are involved in this proposition.

"In the first place, up to the present time, all honours and decorations have been awarded by the sovereign for acts performed by persons in the Royal Service, or for acts done in the Royal Service.

"Secondly, the recommendations for such awards have come from the Superior Officer in the particular branch of the Service, to which the recipients of these

honours belonged, and the grounds for bestowing them rested upon an official chain of responsibility.

"It is now proposed to give a peculiar decoration to private individuals, for acts of daring, which probably must be attested chiefly by persons of their own class, and whose recommendations would be guarded by no official responsibility.

"It is not impossible that the men who perform these gallant acts may be of irregular habits, and bad moral character."

It is plain from the immediate reaction of these two gentlemen that their objection was basically to an extension of the honors system in any direction that was not in accord with their previous experience. Fortunately, their objections did not prevent the creation of the decoration in December 1866. If the Victoria Cross was the first decoration that transcended ranks and class distinctions, the Albert Medal became the first that was used to reward the common man for acts of great merit regardless of his means of livelihood.

The medal established in 1866 was specifically limited to those who risked their lives to save life at sea. At the suggestion of Sir Stafford Northcote, a second class was established in 1867 "so that there might be a means of rewarding gallant services of different degrees of merit, without making the highest order of reward too common." The decorations then became known as "The Albert Medal of the First Class' and "The Albert Medal of the Second Class." In 1877 a Tyneside colliery disaster

aroused the interest of the country and led Lord Beaconsfield to suggest that the medal be extended to include gallant acts in saving life on land. In 1905 the regulations for the award were consolidated and rewritten. It was laid down that the medal of the first class should be "confined to cases of extreme heroic daring" and that the second class should be given in "cases which though falling within cases contemplated by this warrant, are not sufficiently distinguished to deserve the Albert Medal of the First Class." Finally, the designations of the medals were changed in 1917 to "The Albert Medal in Gold" and "The Albert Medal."

While the purpose of the decoration was gradually being expanded beyond the narrow limits of the original conception, the design remained unchanged. The medal in gold for gallantry at sea consists of the letters V and A interlaced with an anchor, all in gold, on a blue enamel ground surrounded by a bronze garter inscribed with "For Saving Life at Sea" in gold letters, the whole surmounted by a bronze representation of the Prince Consort's crown. The Albert Medal is of the same design but executed entirely in bronze (Plates LXXI, LXXII). The medals for gallantry on land are also of similar design but the anchor is omitted, the enamel is crimson and the inscription reads, "For Gallantry in Saving Life on Land." The ribbons for the gold medal for Sea and Land are blue and red, respectively, with four equally spaced white stripes. The

Albert Medals have ribbons of the same colors but with only two broad white stripes.

The Board of Trade Medal

At the time the Albert Medal was founded, a decoration for sea gallantry had already been in existence for some years. This decoration was the Board of Trade Medal for Saving Life at Sea, one of the most curious institutions to be found among all British decorations. It is conferred by the President of the Board of Trade in the name of the Sovereign. The authority for the medal is to be found in the Merchant Shipping Acts of 1854 and 1894. The Board of Trade Medal is thus the only British decoration awarded by Act of Parliament. While it overlaps the Albert Medal in many respects, it has always been a life saving distinction, and has never been broadened in its application. Curiously enough, the records of the award of the medal were so poorly kept that there are none at all before 1887 and a bare outline of names from 1887 to 1921. Since the latter year, a more complete record has been kept. It is now called "The Sea Gallantry Medal."

The medal is issued in gold, silver and bronze for different degrees of gallantry. The obverse bears the head of the reigning Sovereign, the Royal cypher, and the inscription, "Awarded by the Board of Trade for Gallantry in Saving Life." The reverse bears a representation of a man clinging to a spar and beckoning a life boat; a man supporting a

rescued seaman; and a woman and child on a rack (Plate LXXIII). The ribbon is scarlet with two white stripes. It was not until 1903 that the medals were reduced in size and made wearable.

The Kaisar-i-Hind Medal

In May 1900 Queen Victoria instituted a new decoration to be awarded to any person, irrespective of race, rank or sex, who in any capacity rendered useful services to the public in India. The award, called the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal, is generally given for social services of many kinds. American missionaries have been frequent recipients. There are two classes. The first, in gold, is bestowed by the Sovereign, and the second class, in silver, is given by the Viceroy.

The decoration is an oval badge bearing the Imperial cypher, surrounded by a floral border and surmounted by a crown. On the reverse there is a stylized design of lotus flowers with the words "Kaisar-i-Hind" on a ribbon, the whole surrounded by the motto "For Public Service in India." The medal is suspended from a dark blue ribbon when worn by gentlemen and from a bow of the same color when worn by ladies.

The Edward Medal

In 1907 a new medal was created to recognize "the many heroic acts performed by miners and

quarrymen and others who endanger their lives in saving or endeavoring to save the lives of others from perils in mines or quarries within our Dominions and the territories under our protection and jurisdiction." In 1909 the scope of the award was broadened to include "those who endangered their lives to save others in the cause of industrial employment." The medals were first known as "The Edward Medal of the First Class" and "The Edward Medal of the Second Class." In 1917 the designation was changed to "The Edward Medal in Silver" and "The Edward Medal."

The medals are issued in silver and bronze and are of the usual size, suspended from a dark blue ribbon edged with yellow. The obverse bears the head of the reigning sovereign. The reverse of the miners' medal shows a miner rescuing another miner with the inscription "For Courage." The industrial medal has had two designs. The first one showed a man preventing a beam from falling on an injured workman (Plate LXXIV). In 1911 the design was changed and a female was introduced holding a wreath, with an industrial town in the background. The inscription "For Courage" also appears.

The King's Police Medal

In 1909 a special medal, called The King's Police Medal, was established to reward distinguished service or heroic actions by the men on the Police forces and fire brigades throughout the Empire.

These medals are awarded on the recommendation of the Home Secretary. The conditions of award are:

a. Conspicuous gallantry in saving life and property, or in preventing crime or arresting criminals; the risk incurred to be estimated with due regard to the obligations and duties of the officer concerned.
b. A specially distinguished record in administrative or detective service, or other police service of conspicuous merit.
c. Success in organizing Police Forces, or Fire Brigades or Departments, or in maintaining their organization under special difficulties.
d. Special services in dealing with serious or widespread outbreaks of crime or public disorder, or fire.
e. Valuable political, or secret service.
f. Special services to Royalty or Heads of States.
g. Prolonged service, but only when distinguished by very exceptional ability and merit.

The medal really has two classes: "The King's Police Medal for Gallantry" and "The King's Police Medal." The Gallantry medal is given when the action involved comes under the terms described in section (a) of the conditions listed above. The medal bears the effigy of the reigning Sovereign on the obverse. The reverse has an armed figure of a watchman leaning on a sword, bearing a shield with the inscription "To guard my people." There is a

fortified city in the background. In 1933 the words "For Gallantry" were added. The ribbon is dark blue, edged white with a broad white stripe down the center. A thin scarlet thread runs through the center of each white stripe. The design of the Police Medal is the same except that the words "For Distinguished Service" appear on the reverse and there are scarlet stripes in the ribbon.

In December 1909, in connection with changes created in the institution of the Edward Medal, a statement was issued to the press that served to clarify the purpose and relative position of the awards for civil gallantry:

> "Before 1907 conspicuous gallantry in civil life could be recognized by the high but rare distinction of the Albert Medal. There were, however, no means of rewarding acts of great courage on land—less conspicuous but perhaps equally meritorious—by decorations appropriate to particular vocations.
>
> "The King was therefore pleased to institute in the first instance the Edward Medal for Gallantry in Mines and Quarries. His Majesty has now extended the qualifications for the medal to acts of gallantry performed in the course of industrial employment other than mines and quarries, and has established the King's Police Medal for merit or courage on the part of members of the police forces and five brigades in the discharge of their duties.

"These medals, with distinct and appropriate designs, will be granted for conduct and service throughout the Empire; and, in conjunction with the Board of Trade medal for saving life at sea, cover the whole range of dangerous employment in civil life.

"The Albert Medal remains the reward for acts of the highest courage and devotion in civil life. His Majesty's purpose in establishing the new medals is to provide recognition for actions of exceptional bravery in dangerous callings, which, owing to the rarity of the award of the Albert Medal, might otherwise go unrecognized."

The George Cross and the George Medal

The War against Nazi Germany created a situation that justified the creation of two new decorations. The Battle of Britain brought the war to the doorstep of every Englishman. While the civilian is eligible for the Victoria Cross, he is not eligible for other military decorations. The available awards, with the single exception of the Empire Medals discussed above, could be conferred for military or civilian services, but the phenomenon of civilians at war was something quite unprovided for. In a speech on September 23, 1940, the King announced the creation of the George Cross and George Medal to be conferred on civilians, both men and women, for acts of great heroism or conspicuous gallantry in

circumstances of extreme danger. The immediate object was to recognize acts of gallantry arising out of enemy action, but it is also to be awarded for other brave deeds. The new decorations can also be awarded to members of the armed forces for acts of valor on the home front. "The George Cross will take the place of the Medal of the Order of the British Empire for Gallantry (E. G. M.). The present holders of the E. G. M. will therefore receive the new cross in substitution for the existing Medal." It ranks immediately after the V. C. The George Medal is junior to the Cross and given for acts which do not merit the award of the senior honor.

The design of the new Cross is marked by an unusual simplicity and severity. It is in plain silver, patterned after the Geneva Cross. In the center there is a modern rendering of Pistrucci's famous design of St. George and the dragon, surrounded by the motto "For Gallantry." In each of the four angles of the Cross appears a minute "G. V. I." The decoration is suspended from a laureated bar through which a Garter blue ribbon has been threaded (Plate LXXV). It is worn by ladies from a bow. The George Medal is in silver 1.42 inches in diameter, with a crowned head of the Sovereign on the obverse. The reverse shows St. George attacking the dragon on the shores of Britain, a design taken from a bookplate designed for the Royal Library at Windsor (Plate LXXVI). It is suspended by a red ribbon with five narrow vertical blue stripes, threaded through a ring.

APPENDIX I

Alphabetical Designations of British Orders and Decorations

Members of British Orders and the recipients of most decorations are permitted to carry alphabetical designations after their names indicative of the honor received. These designations and their meanings are listed below alphabetically.

A. F. C.	— Air Force Cross
A. F. M.	— Air Force Medal
A. M.	— Albert Medal
A. R. R. C.	— Associate, Royal Red Cross
C. B.	— Companion of the Order of the Bath
C. B. E.	— Commander of the Order of the British Empire
C. H.	— Companion of Honor
C. G. M.	— Conspicuous Gallantry Medal
C. I.	— The Order of the Cross of India
C. I. E.	— Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire
C. M. G.	— Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George
C. S. I.	— Companion of the Order of the Star of India
C. V. O.	— Commander of the Royal Victorian Order
D. B. E.	— Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire

D. C. M.	— Distinguished Conduct Medal
D. C. V. O.	— Dame Commander of the Royal Victorian Order
D. F. C.	— Distinguished Flying Cross
D. F. M.	— Distinguished Flying Medal
D. S. C.	— Distinguished Service Cross
D. S. M.	— Distinguished Service Medal
D. S. O.	— Distinguished Service Order
E. G. M.	— Empire Gallantry Medal (obsolete)
E. M.	— Edward Medal
G. B. E.	— Knight, or Dame, Grand Cross of the Order of the British Empire
G. C.	— George Cross
G. C. B.	— Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath
G. C. I. E.	— Knight Grand Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire
G. C. M. G.	— Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George
G. C. S. I.	— Knight Grand Commander of the Order of the Star of India
G. C. V. O.	— Knight or Dame Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order
G. M.	— George Medal
I. O. M.	— Indian Order of Merit
I. S. O.	— Imperial Service Order
K. B.	— Knight of the Order of the Bath 1725-1815, now obsolete
K. B. E.	— Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire

K. C. B.	—	Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath
K. C. I. E.	—	Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire
K. C. M. G.	—	Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George
K. C. S. I.	—	Knight Commander of the Order of the Star of India
K. C. V. O.	—	Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order
K. G.	—	Knight of the Garter
K. P.	—	Knight of St. Patrick
K. T.	—	Knight of the Thistle
M. B. E.	—	Member of the Order of the British Empire
M. C.	—	Military Cross
M. M.	—	Military Medal
M. V. O.	—	Member of the Royal Victorian Order, fourth or fifth class
O. B. E.	—	Officer of the Order of the British Empire
O. B. I.	—	Order of British India
O. M.	—	Member of the Order of Merit
R. R. C.	—	Royal Red Cross
S. G. M.	—	Sea Gallantry Medal (Board of Trade Medal)
V. C.	—	Victoria Cross

APPENDIX II

Precedence of British Orders and Decorations

British Orders and Decorations have precedence among themselves as follows:

1. Victoria Cross
2. George Cross
3. Order of the Garter
4. Order of the Thistle
5. Order of St. Patrick
6. Order of the Bath
7. Order of Merit—following Knights Grand Cross of the Bath
8. Order of the Star of India
9. Order of St. Michael and St. George
10. Order of the Indian Empire
11. Order of the Crown of India
12. Royal Victorian Order (1st three classes)
13. Order of the British Empire (1st three classes)
14. Order of the Companions of Honour
15. Distinguished Service Order
16. Royal Victorian Order (fourth class)
17. Order of the British Empire (fourth class)
18. Imperial Service Order
19. Royal Victorian Order (fifth class)
20. Order of the British Empire (fifth class)
21. Royal Red Cross (1st class)
22. Distinguished Service Cross
23. Military Cross

24. Distinguished Flying Cross
25. Air Force Cross
26. Royal Red Cross (2nd Class)
27. Order of British India
28. Indian Order of Merit—Military
29. Kaisar-i-Hind Medal
30. Order of Burma
31. Order of St. John
32. Albert Medal
33. Medal for Distinguished Conduct in the Field
34. Conspicuous Gallantry Medal
35. King's Police and Fire Services Medal for Gallantry
36. George Medal
37. Edward Medal
38. Distinguished Service Medal
39. Indian Distinguished Service Medal
40. Military Medal
41. Distinguished Flying Medal
42. Air Force Medal
43. Board of Trade Medal for Saving Life at Sea
44. Constabulary Medal
45. Indian Order of Merit—Civil
46. Burma Gallantry Medal

APPENDIX III

Notes Governing the Principles of Award of Orders, Decorations and Medals of the British Army, and equivalent ranks of Allied Forces issued by the Adjutant General's Office of the A. E. F. in 1918.

In 1918 the Adjutant General's Office of the A. E. F. issued three informative mimeographed pamphlets describing the history and functions of British, French and Italian Orders and Decorations. The list, reproduced below, was taken from the British pamphlet. It is of great value in indicating the conditions governing the award of Honors to the armed forces.

G. C. B. and G. C. M. G.	No recommendation to be submitted unless specially called for. These orders are reserved for Commanders-in-Chief of British and Allied Forces or for exceptional brilliant and distinguished services of a Commander of a group of Armies.
K. C. B.	General Officers with distinguished records. As in certain instances in Allied Armies the highest rank of General Officer is a General of Division, the nature of his appointment and services rendered must determine whether the K. C. B.,

or K. C. M. G., is the more suitable Order.

K. C. M. G. — General Officers as above, but in a lesser degree, or to reward distinguished services of General Officers already in possession of a K. C. B.

C. B. — Major-Generals, Brigadier-Generals, Senior Colonels. Exception may be made in special cases in favour of Lieutenant-Colonels who are already in possession of the C. M. G.

Note. Under the statutes of the Order of the Bath, a Major is eligible, but the practice of awarding the C. B. to Majors has not been put into effect during this War.

C. M. G. — Brigadier-Generals, Colonels, Senior Lieutenant-Colonels. As in the case of the C. B., Majors are eligible for this Order, but the award of the C. M. G. to a Major must necessarily be very exceptional.

D. S. O. — The statutes of the D. S. O. impose no limitations as to the rank of Officers eligible but it is not usual to award the D. S. O. to a General Officer and except for services of

marked gallantry, it should not be awarded to an Officer below the rank of Captain.

This decoration can only be awarded for "services in action" which shall be held to mean:—

(I) Services under fire.

(II) Distinguished individual services in connection with air raids, bombardments or other enemy action which at the time produces conditions equivalent to services in actual combat, and demands the same personal elements of command, initiative or control on the part of individuals and, in a lesser degree only possibly entails the same risks.

Military Cross. Restricted by Royal Warrant to Officers below the rank of Major (Temporary Majors should be excluded if the services for which they are recommended were performed in that rank) and to Warrant Officers, Class I and II. Conditions of award as for D. S. O.

D. C. M. Restricted by Royal Warrant to all below Commissioned rank. Conditions of award as for D. S. O. Women are not eligible.

Military Medal. Can only be granted for gallantry in action, and can only be awarded to Warrant Officers, Class I and II, Non-commissioned officers and men. Women are eligible for "Bravery in the Field."

M. S. M. For meritorious service or devotion to duty or for specific services of gallantry not in action. See Royal Warrant Article 1227. The M. S. M. can be awarded to all below Commissioned rank. Women are not eligible.

APPENDIX IV

Pooling of Certain Awards

In January 1943 it was announced that the three branches of the armed services had reached an agreement permitting the pooling of the decorations for gallantry. This arrangement was found necessary because of the peculiar conditions under which the present War is being fought. Never before have there been so many actions in which soldiers have been engaged in air operations and flyers in purely land and sea operations. Therefore, Navy and Army personnel are now eligible for honors once granted to the Royal Air Force, while the personnel of the Army and R. A. F. can, when the conditions justify it, win a naval award.

The King decided that the Navy's much coveted Conspicuous Gallantry Medal is in the future to be awarded to warrant officers, non-commissioned officers and enlisted personnel of the Army and Air Force for gallantry in land or air operations against the enemy. It takes precedence over the D. F. M. When so awarded, the ribbon will be light blue, with dark blue edges. It should be emphasized that the air awards can be granted to soldiers only for deeds performed in the air while military awards can be granted to R. A. F. personnel only for deeds performed on the ground.

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Anyone interested in the insignia of the British Orders would do well to visit the principal exhibitions open to the public in normal times. A complete collection of insignia is to be found in the Jewel House of the Tower of London. The best collection of historical material is available in the Royal United Services Museum, Whitehall. This museum has the orders and decorations of Sir John Moore K.B., Viscounts Wolseley and Allenby, Lord Clyde (Sir Colin Campbell), Admiral of the Fleet Earl Jellicoe, Florence Nightingale and many others. There are some interesting pieces in the London Museum and the Imperial War Museum. The insignia of the Garter and the Thistle preserved with the crown jewels of Scotland in Edinburgh Castle are well worth seeing. The Military Museum in the castle has some interesting displays including the group of Field Marshal Lord Lynedoch (Sir Thomas Graham). The Greenwich Maritime Museum has Nelson's foreign awards and his uniforms showing the embroidered stars of the Orders. There are, of course, many interesting pieces still in the hands of the descendants of the men who won them that are not available to the public. The honors of the Duke of Wellington are heirlooms in the family. Although certain British regiments have notable collections of Orders and medals it has never been the good fortune of the author to see them. Unfortunately the most likely repository of information on the insignia, the Central Chancery of the Orders of Knighthood, has been kept firmly closed in the face of all inquiries.

Much of the most interesting printed material relating to the Honors System is so scattered that it is

impractical to indicate the sources in any but a most general way. Biographies of soldiers, statesmen, administrators, and of the Royal Family generally have invaluable bits of information scattered through them. The revival of the stately ceremonies of the Garter, the Thistle, the St. Patrick and the Bath after the turn of the century has been responsible for a great deal of instructive editorial comment, as well as factual news accounts, in the *London Times*, and the *Illustrated London News*. Not infrequently the principal events of politics and diplomacy in the past 250 years have involved the Orders in a way that throws considerable light on their functions and meaning. The Banks Papers in the British Museum have a great deal of material gathered by Sir Joseph Banks K.B. and (his daughter) Miss Banks, but the author has not had the opportunity to investigate them. A list of standard works consulted, most of which are available in the library of the American Numismatic Society, is appended below. The more general works from which direct quotations were taken for use in the monograph are also included in the list.

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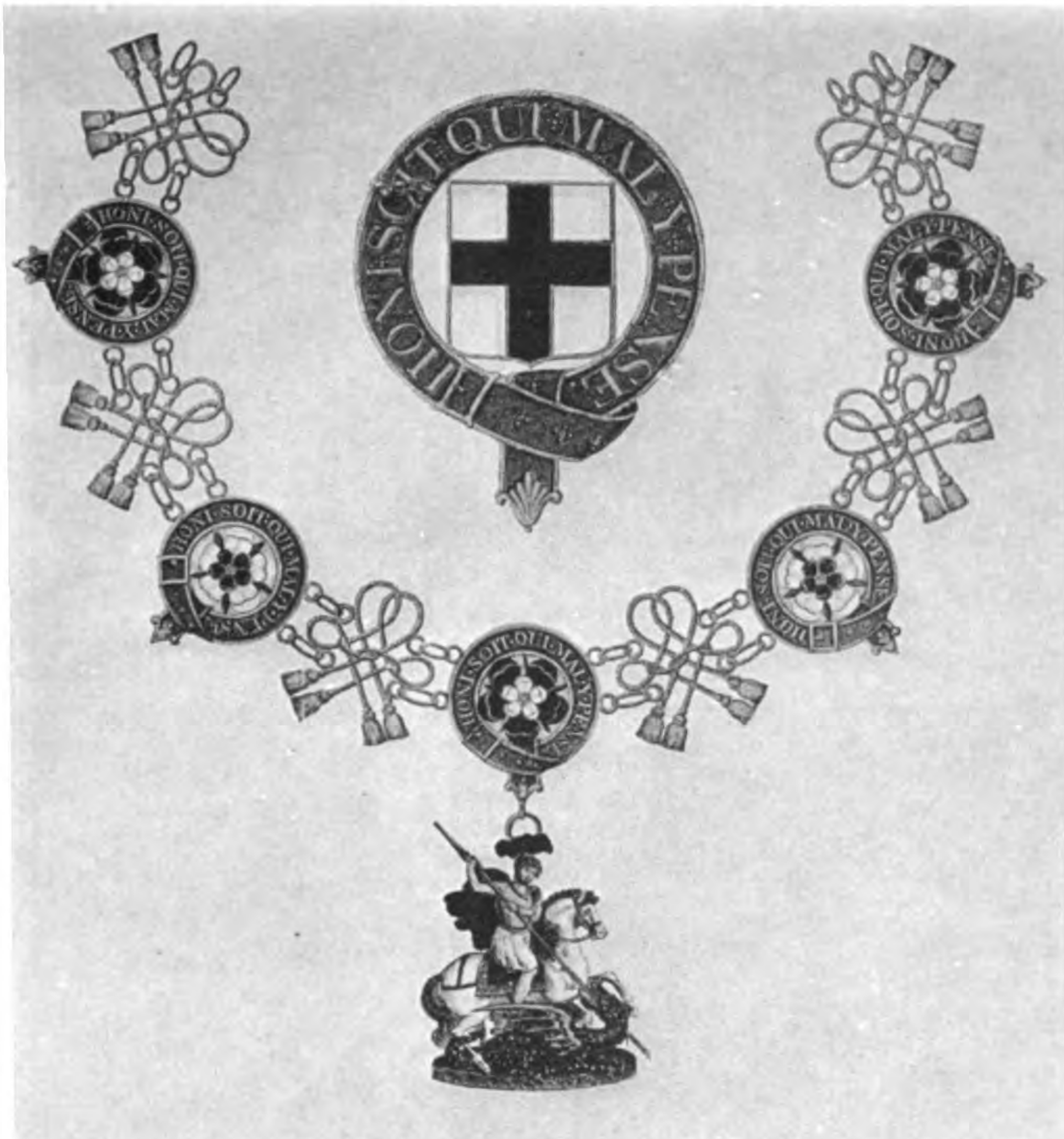
PLATES



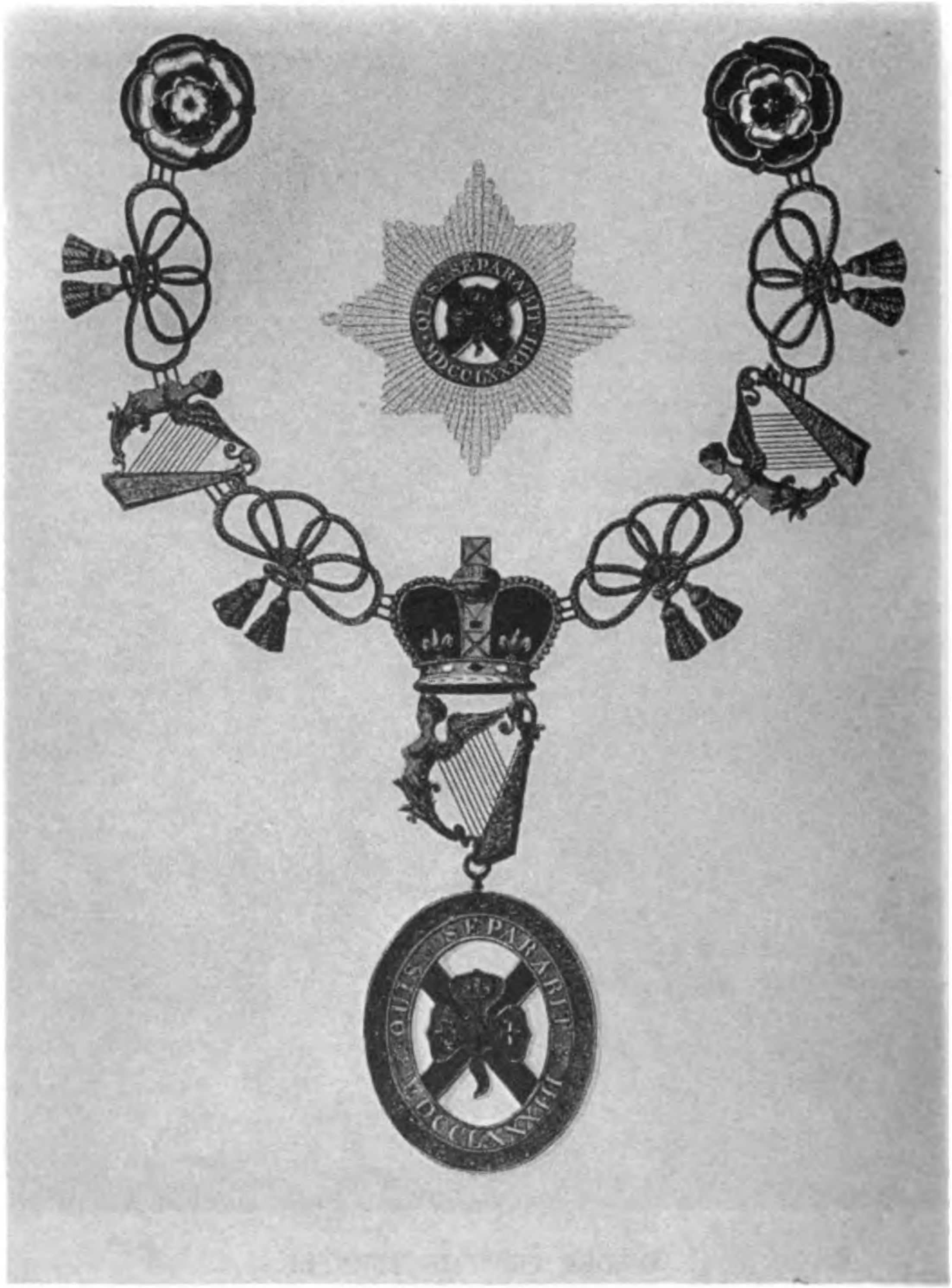
ORDER OF THE GARTER
MANTLE INSIGNIA, COLLAR AND GREAT GEORGE

ORDER OF THE GARTER
THE LESSER GEORGE AND RIBBON

ORDER OF THE GARTER
STAR Ca. 1840

ORDER OF THE GARTER
STAR

ORDER OF THE THISTLE
STAR



ORDER OF ST. PATRICK
STAR, COLLAR AND BADGE

ORDER OF ST. PATRICK
BADGE

ORDER OF ST. PATRICK
STAR

ORDER OF THE BATH
STAR Ca. 1790

X

GEN. SIR JOHN COWENS
IN ROBES OF THE ORDER OF THE BATH
AND WEARING INSIGNIA OF A G.C.M.G.

ORDER OF THE BATH
BADGE AND RIBBON OF A MILITARY
KNIGHT GRAND CROSS

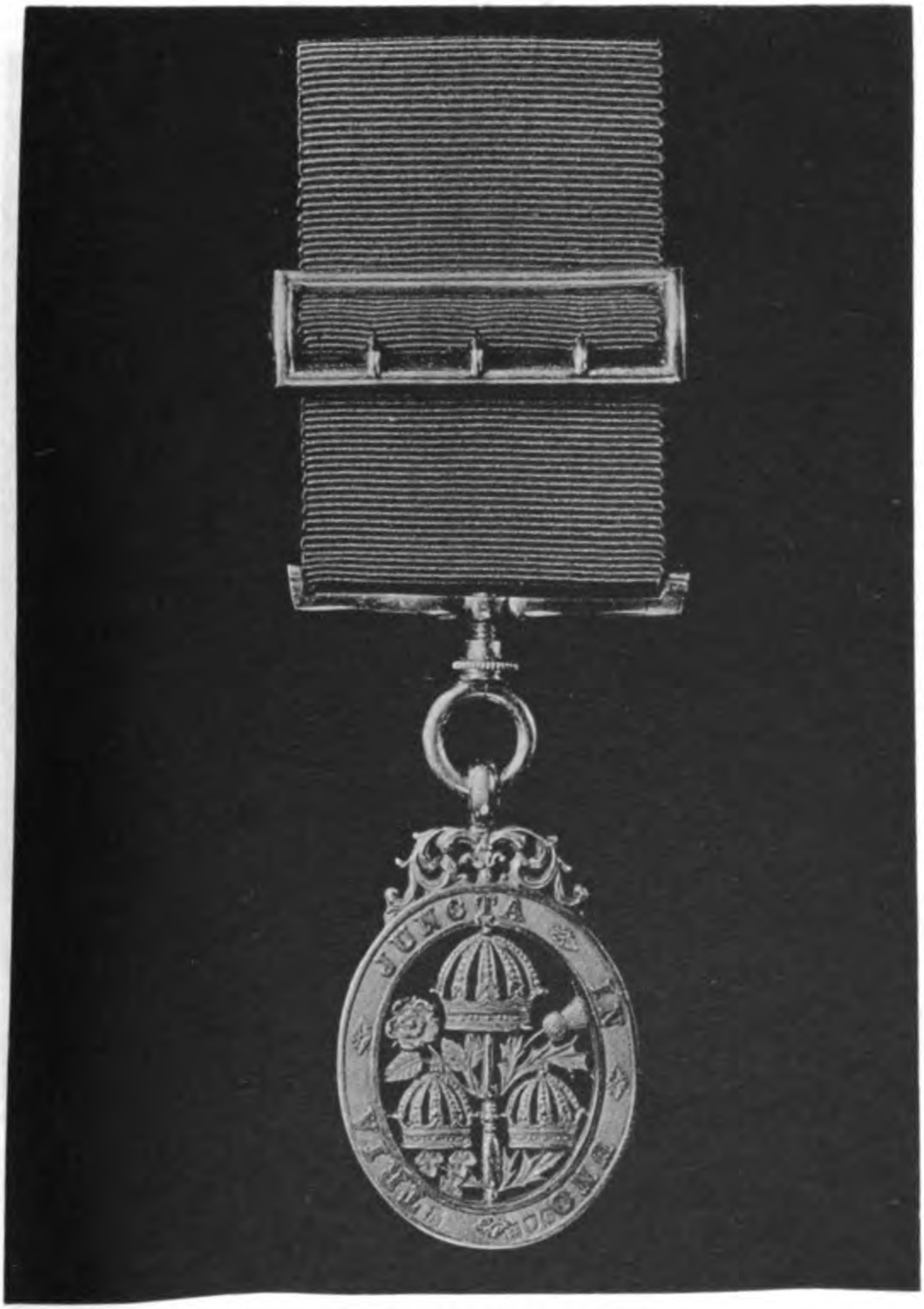
ORDER OF THE BATH
BADGE OF A MILITARY KNIGHT
COMMANDER

ADMIRAL SIR PROVO WALLIS K.C.B.
WEARING INSIGNIA OF THE BATH AS IT
WAS ORIGINALLY DESIGNED TO BE WORN

ORDER OF THE BATH
BADGE OF A MILITARY COMPANION

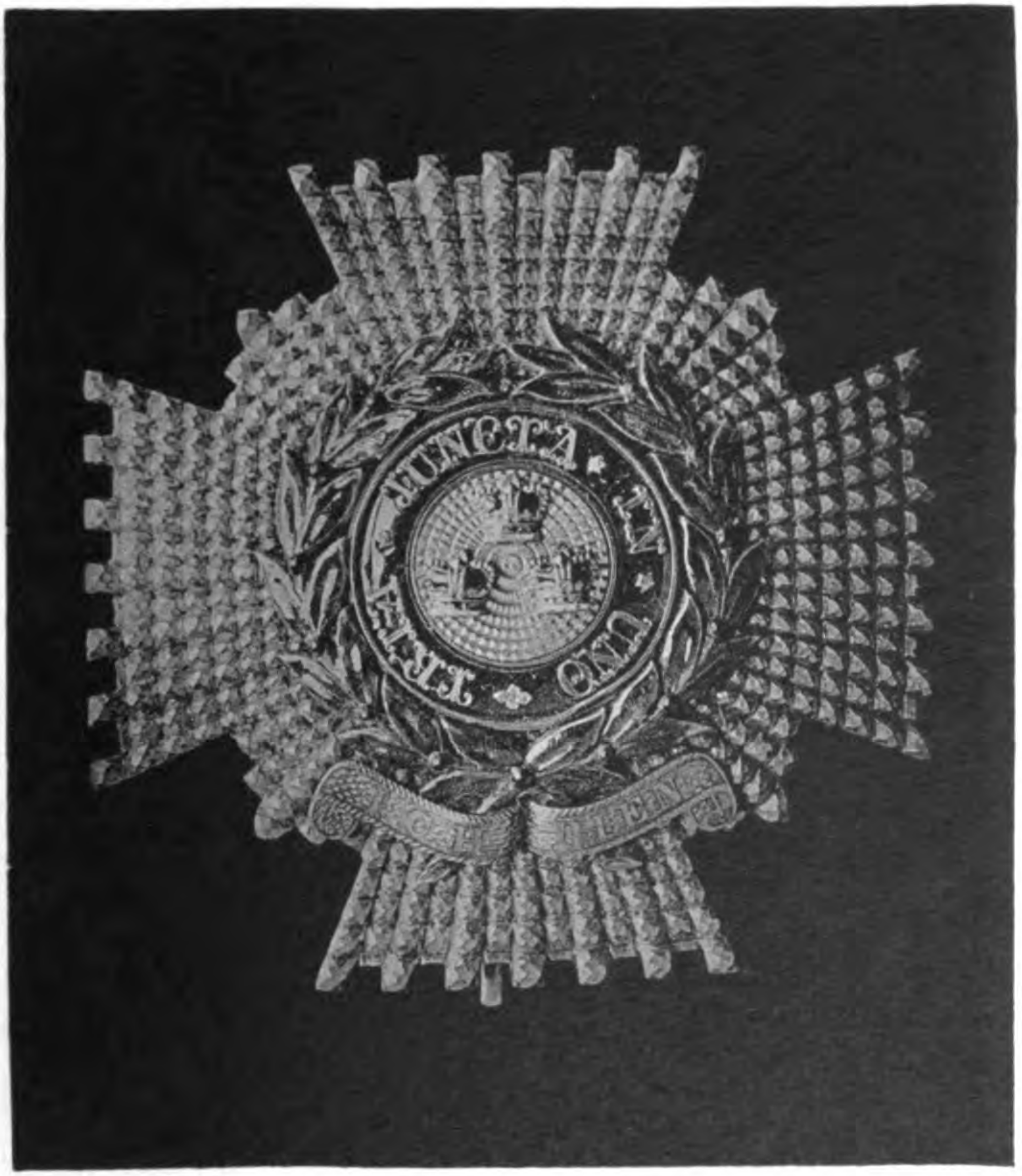
ORDER OF THE BATH
BADGE OF A CIVIL KNIGHT
GRAND CROSS

ORDER OF THE BATH
BADGE OF A CIVIL KNIGHT GRAND CROSS
SHOWING SLIGHT VARIATION IN DESIGN

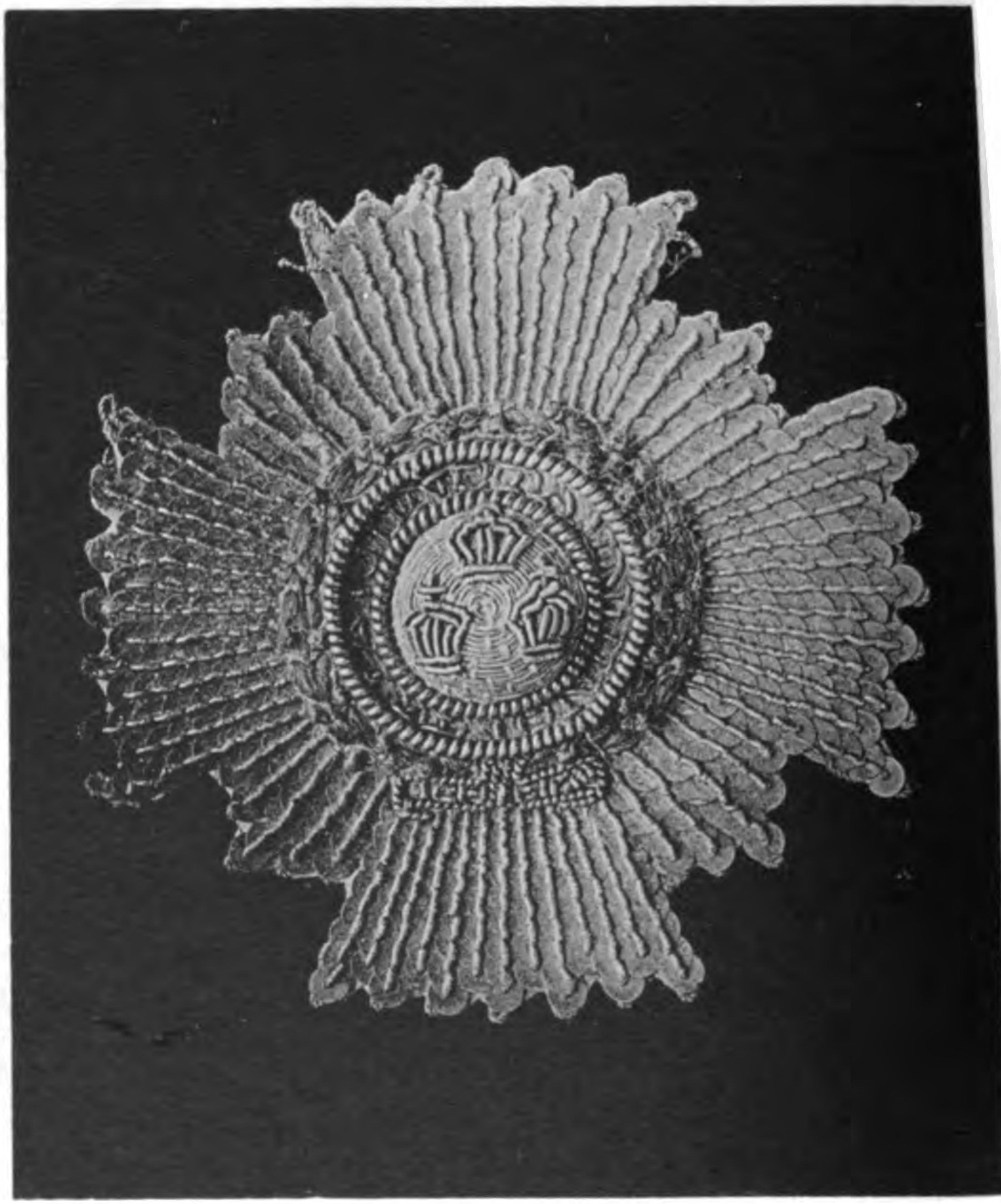


ORDER OF THE BATH
BADGE OF A CIVIL COMPANION, 1848-1917

ORDER OF THE BATH
STAR OF A MILITARY KNIGHT
GRAND CROSS, Ca. 1820

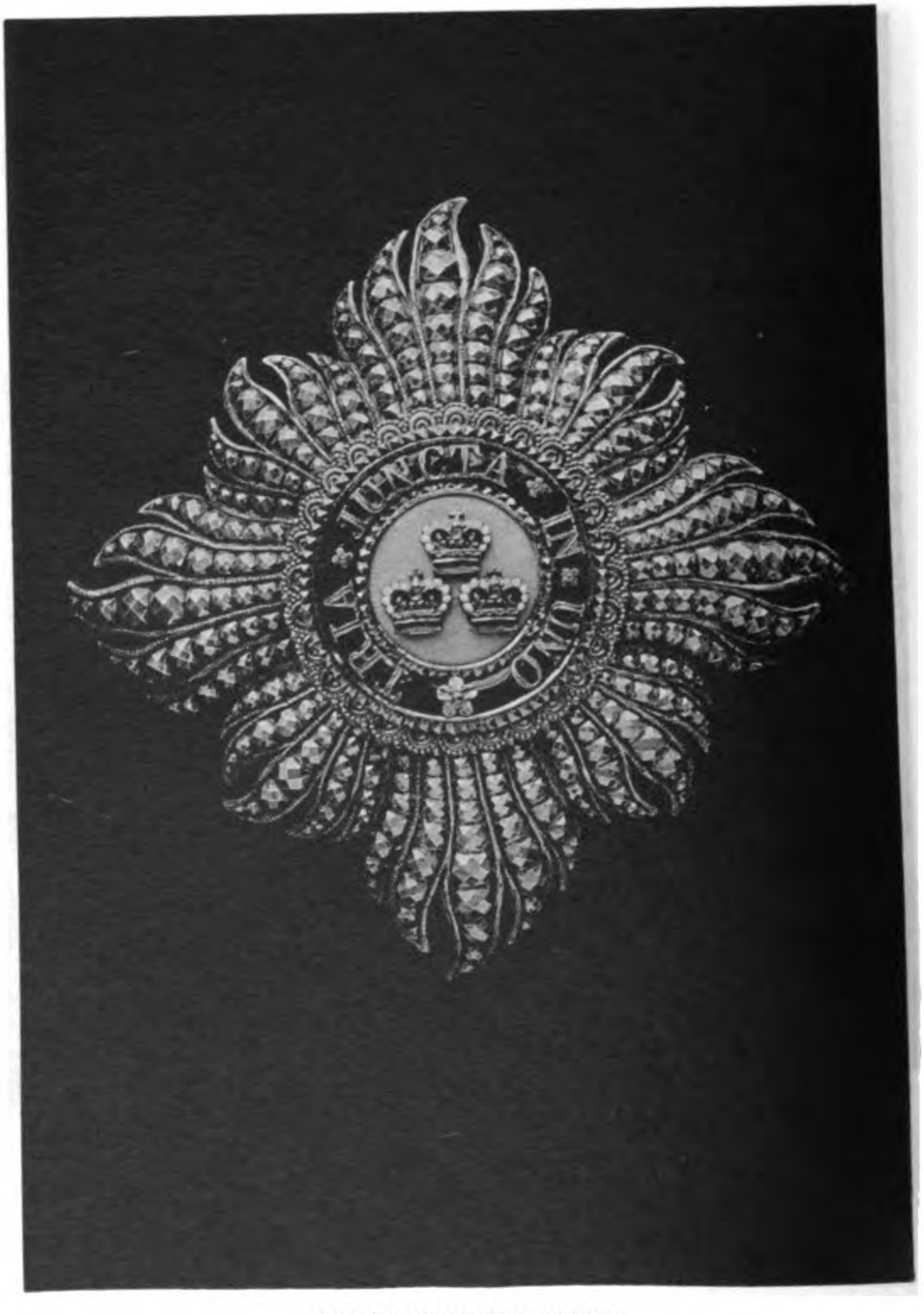


ORDER OF THE BATH
STAR OF A MILITARY KNIGHT
COMMANDER



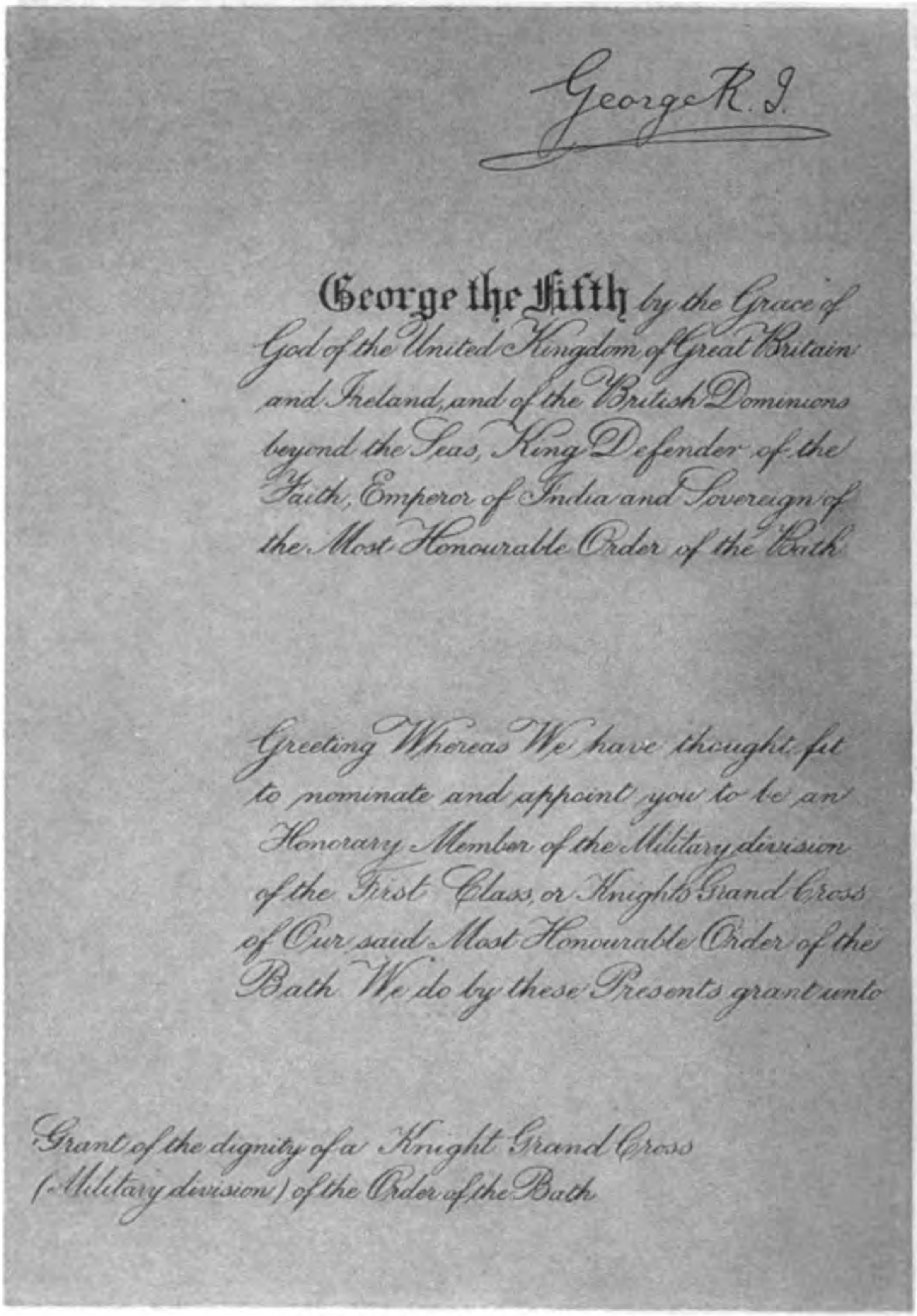
ORDER OF THE BATH
STAR OF A MILITARY KNIGHT COMMANDER, CA. 1830

ORDER OF THE BATH
STAR OF A CIVIL KNIGHT GRAND CROSS



ORDER OF THE BATH
STAR OF A CIVIL KNIGHT GRAND CROSS
OF PRIVATE MAKE, Ca. 1850
(DESIGN OF THE CROWNS IS INCORRECT)

ORDER OF THE BATH
STAR OF A MILITARY KNIGHT GRAND CROSS



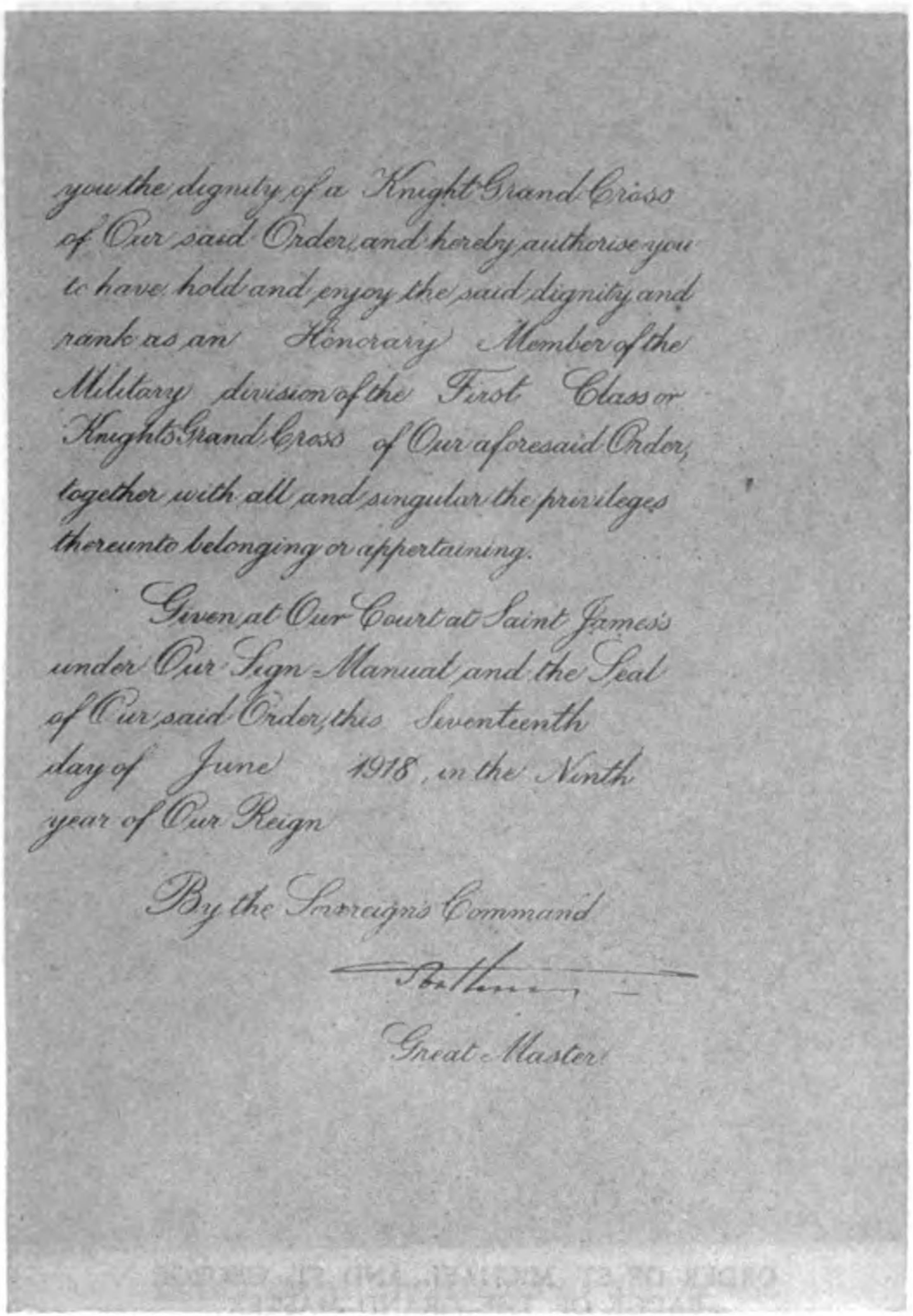
George R. I.

George the Fifth by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India and Sovereign of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath

Greeting Whereas We have thought fit to nominate and appoint you to be an Honorary Member of the Military division of the First Class, or Knights Grand Cross of Our said Most Honourable Order of the Bath We do by these Presents grant unto

Grant of the dignity of a Knight Grand Cross (Military division) of the Order of the Bath

DOCUMENT CONFERRING
THE ORDER OF THE BATH



you the dignity of a Knight Grand Cross
of Our said Order, and hereby authorise you
to have hold and enjoy the said dignity and
rank as an Honorary Member of the
Military division of the First Class or
Knights Grand Cross of Our aforesaid Order,
together with all and singular the privileges
thereunto belonging or appertaining.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's
under Our Sign Manual and the Seal
of Our said Order, this Seventeenth
day of June 1918, in the Ninth
year of Our Reign

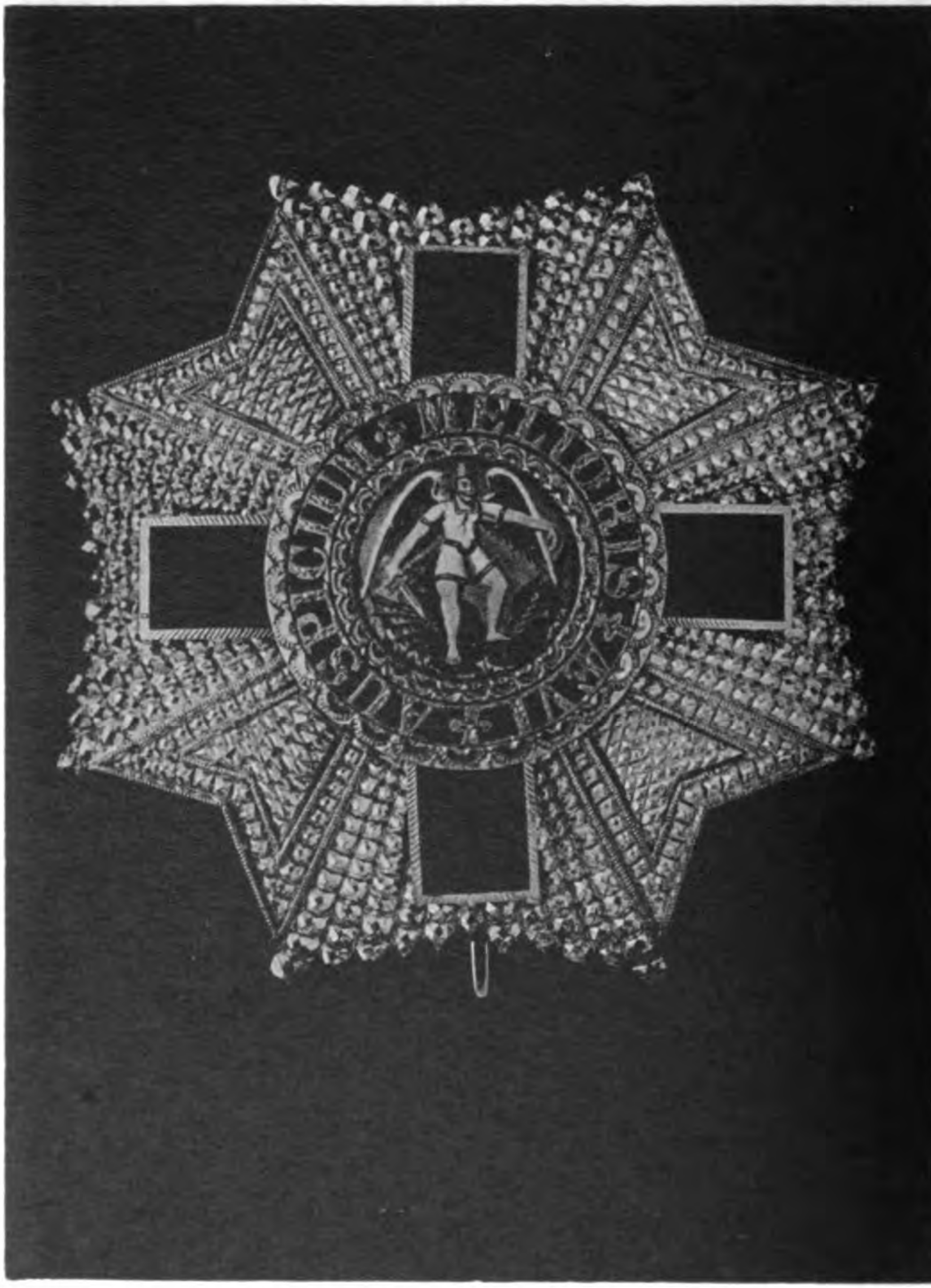
By the Sovereign's Command

Great Master

UNDER ROYAL SIGN MANUAL
WITH SIGNATURE OF THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT

ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL AND ST. GEORGE
BADGE OF THE GRAND MASTER

ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL AND ST. GEORGE
BADGE OF A KNIGHT COMMANDER



ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL AND ST. GEORGE
STAR OF A KNIGHT COMMANDER

ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE
BADGE OF KNIGHT COMMANDER
1917-1937 (Obverse)

ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE
BADGE OF A KNIGHT COMMANDER
1917-1937 (Reverse)

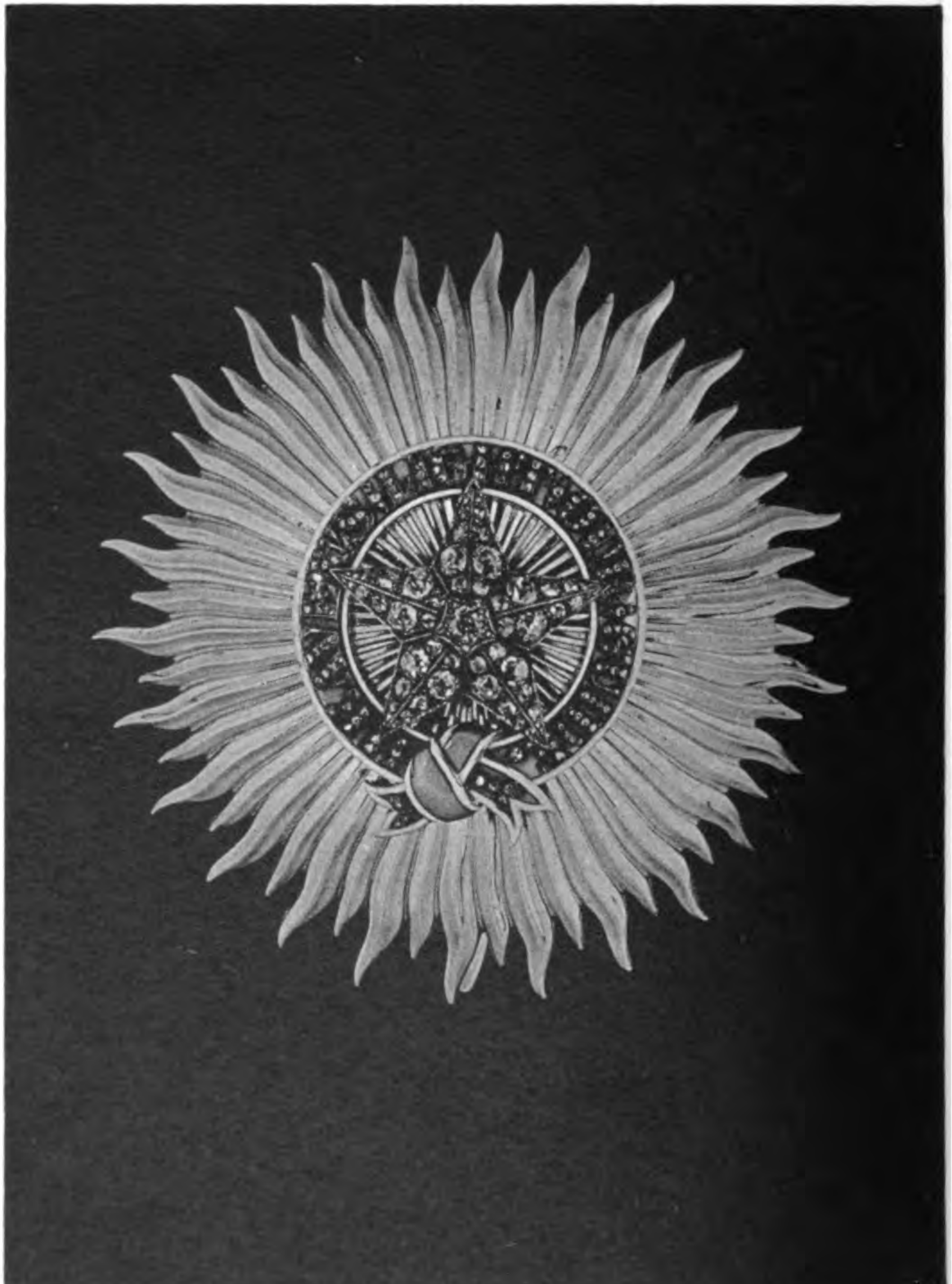
ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE
BADGE OF AN OFFICER
1917-1937

ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE
STAR OF KNIGHT COMMANDER
1917-1937

IMPERIAL SERVICE ORDER
BADGE

ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM
BADGE AND STAR

ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA
BADGE OF A COMPANION



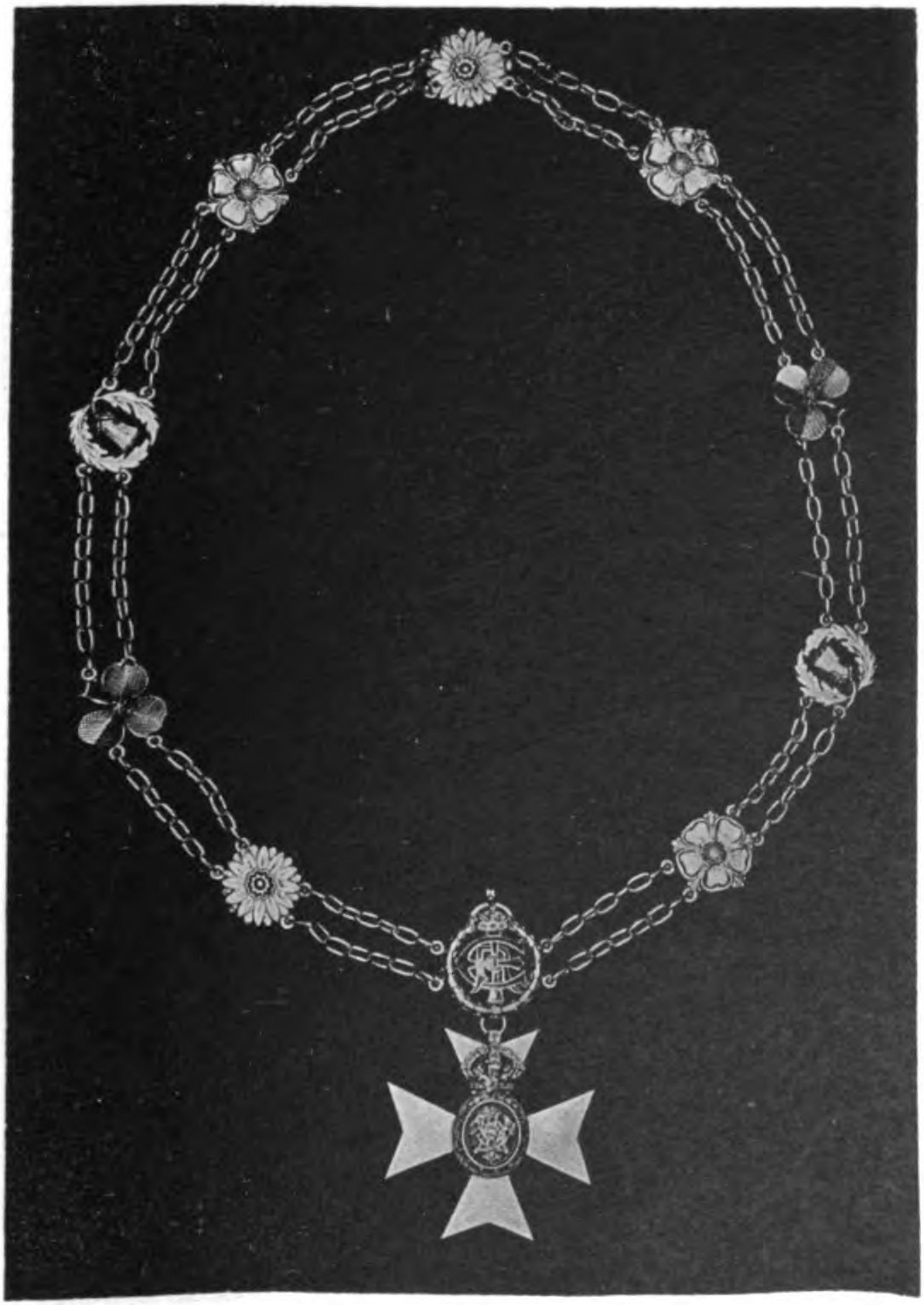
ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA
STAR OF A KNIGHT GRAND COMMANDER

ORDER OF THE CROWN OF INDIA
BADGE

ROYAL VICTORIAN ORDER
BADGE OF A KNIGHT GRAND CROSS

ROYAL VICTORIAN ORDER
BADGE OF A MEMBER

ROYAL VICTORIAN ORDER
STAR OF A KNIGHT GRAND CROSS



ROYAL VICTORIAN ORDER
CHAIN

ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE

ORDER OF MERIT

ORDER OF THE COMPANIONS OF HONOUR

MINIATURE BADGES

ORDER OF VICTORIA AND ALBERT
BADGE, SECOND CLASS

FAMILY ORDER OF KING GEORGE V

INDIAN ORDER OF MERIT

MEDAL FOR DISTINGUISHED CONDUCT
IN THE FIELD
VICTORIAN ISSUE (Obverse)

MEDAL FOR DISTINGUISHED CONDUCT
IN THE FIELD
VICTORIAN ISSUE (Reverse)

MEDAL FOR DISTINGUISHED CONDUCT
IN THE FIELD
GEORGE V

MEDAL FOR CONSPICUOUS GALLANTRY
(Reverse)

VICTORIA CROSS
(Obverse)

VICTORIA CROSS
(Reverse)

ROYAL RED CROSS

X DISTINGUISHED SERVICE ORDER

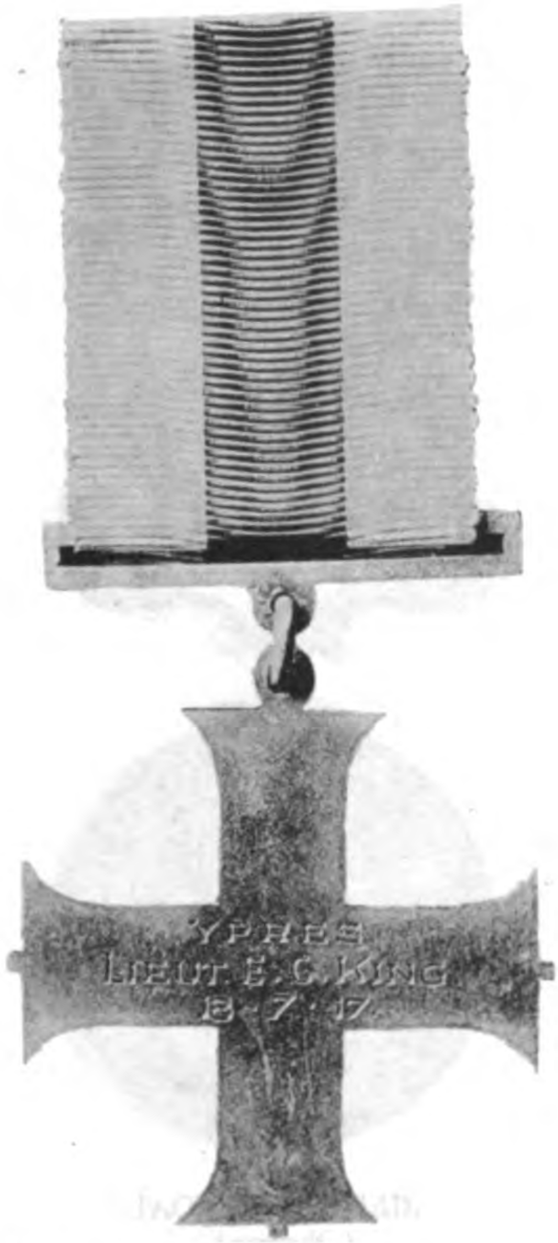
DISTINGUISHED SERVICE ORDER
VICTORIAN ISSUE
(Reverse)

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE ORDER
GEORGE V ISSUE
(Reverse)

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CROSS

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL

MILITARY CROSS
(Obverse)



MILITARY CROSS
(Reverse)

MILITARY MEDAL
(Obverse)

MILITARY MEDAL
(Reverse)

DISTINGUISHED FLYING CROSS
(Obverse)

DISTINGUISHED FLYING CROSS
(Reverse)

AIR FORCE CROSS
(Obverse)

AIR FORCE CROSS
(Reverse)

DISTINGUISHED FLYING MEDAL
(Obverse)

DISTINGUISHED FLYING MEDAL
(Reverse)

MEDAL OF THE
ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

EMPIRE GALLANTRY MEDAL

MILITARY MEDAL
(Obverse)

MILITARY MEDAL
(Reverse)

DISTINGUISHED FLYING CROSS
(Obverse)

DISTINGUISHED FLYING CROSS
(Reverse)

AIR FORCE CROSS
(Obverse)

AIR FORCE CROSS
(Reverse)

MEDAL OF THE
ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

EMPIRE GALLANTRY MEDAL

EMPIRE MEDAL FOR MERITORIOUS SERVICE
(Reverse)

THE ALBERT MEDAL
(Obverse)

THE ALBERT MEDAL
(Reverse)

THE BOARD OF TRADE MEDAL

THE EDWARD MEDAL
IN SILVER FOR MINERS

7. THE GEORGE CROSS

MODEL FOR THE GEORGE MEDAL

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THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

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NUMISMATIC NOTES
AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 107

THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHESOS

BY

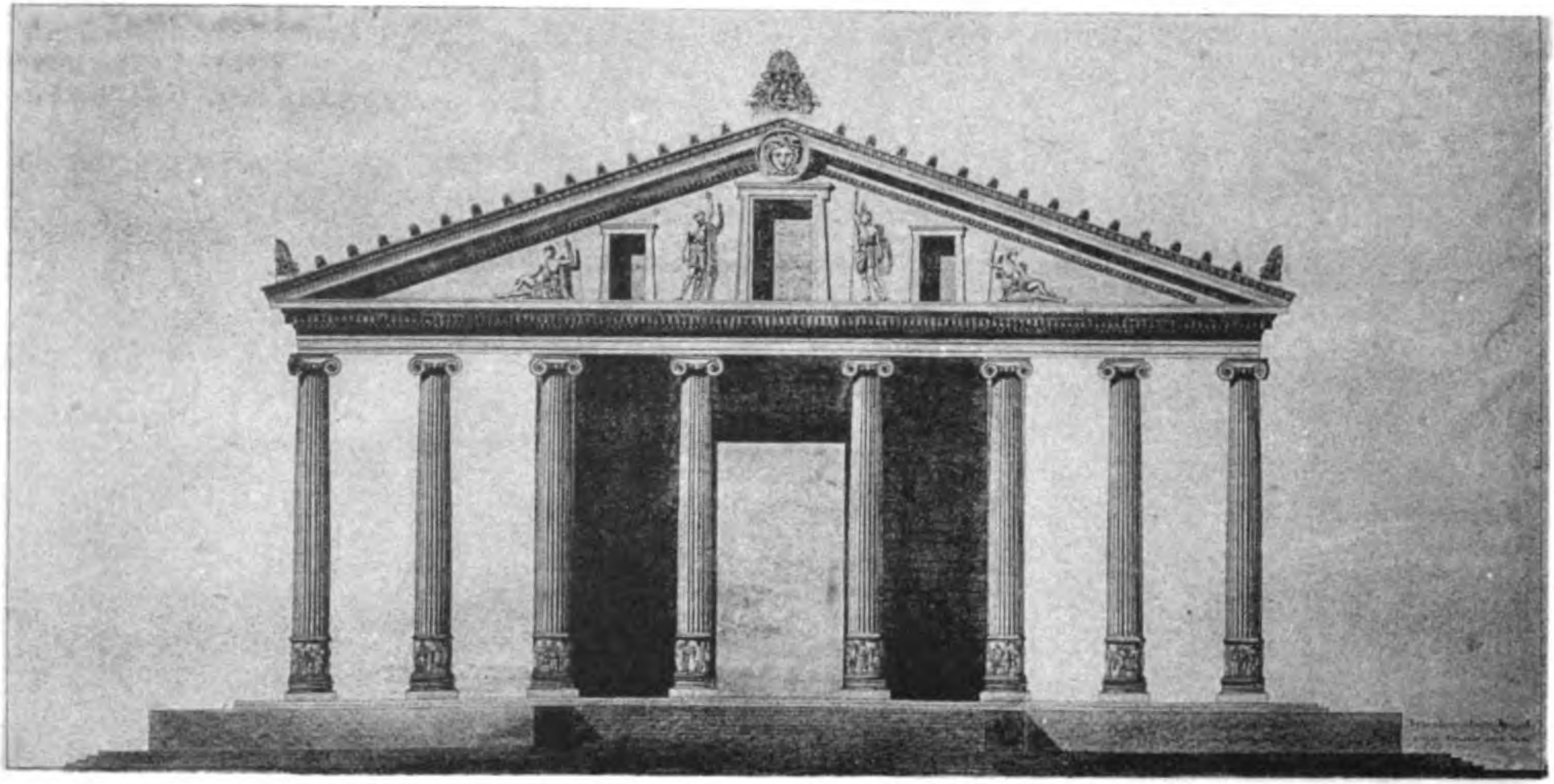
BLUMA L. TRELL

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
NEW YORK
1945

NUMISMATIC
NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

Number 107

Numismatic Notes and Monographs is devoted to essays and treatises on subjects relating to coins, paper money, medals and decorations and is uniform with Hispanic Notes and Monographs published by the Hispanic Society of America, and with Indian Notes and Monographs issued by the Museum of the American Indian—Heye Foundation.



TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHESOS
(Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art)

THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHESOS

BY

BLUMA L. TRELL

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
NEW YORK
1945

THE INTELLIGENCER PRINTING CO.
LANCASTER, PA.

TO THE WRITER IN MY FAMILY

PREFACE

No one works alone: let me express my appreciation of those who have aided me, in great ways, and in lesser.

First, Professor Karl Lehmann: the discerning theory of Professor Lehmann, that a thoroughgoing and exhaustive investigation of the coins of Asia Minor would shed revealing light on the architectural history of that important province of the Roman Empire, gave the original impetus for this study and determined its direction. More than that, in this investigation, conducted as it has of necessity been upon *terra incognita*, Professor Lehmann has stood constantly at hand to guide me in a wilderness of unforeseeable problems. My debt to him is so great that if I attempted to acknowledge each individual item of it, every page would bear his name. Let these few words stand for all.

Others, too, have helped me. That great numismatist, Edward T. Newell, before his untimely death in 1940 identified for me many of the casts which I had obtained from Europe before the war. Casts were supplied me, often under difficult conditions, by Miss Anne S. Robertson of the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; Dr. Fritz Dworschak of the Vienna Cabinet; M. Jean Babelon of the Paris Cabinet; Dr. Georg Galster of the Copenhagen Cabinet; Dr. F. M. Heichelheim of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; and Mr. Harold Mattingly,

of the British Museum. Professor C. A. Robinson, Jr., of Brown University, Professor H. R. W. Smith of Berkeley University, and Professor A. R. Bellinger of Yale University likewise helped me obtain casts from the collections of their universities.

Mr. Sydney P. Noe, Mr. Sawyer M. Mosser, Mr. William L. Clark, and Master Sergeant Raymond E. Main (now in action in the European theatre of war) graciously placed at my disposal the rich resources of the collections and library of the American Numismatic Society; their encouragement and expert advice assisted me in the daily labors of my investigation.

Professor William B. Dinsmoor, whose name must occur and recur in any study of ancient architecture, Professor Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., my friend and teacher, and Dr. Isabel S. Gordon, my good friend, have been kind enough to read this paper in manuscript and to make many and valuable suggestions.

Mr. Stuart Shaw, of the Metropolitan Museum, by graciously drawing for me the excellent elevation of the temple of Artemis at Ephesos[1] (Frontispiece), has given artistic color to this factual study.

To all, my thanks.

BLUMA L. TRELL

Hunter College

[1] Greek names have been used throughout except in the cases where the Latin equivalents are more familiar.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

The customary abbreviations of classical writers and their works, and of numismatic references are not listed.

Abhand. Berl. Akad. Abhandlungen der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Berlin, 1804.

Abhand. Gött. Akad. Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Historisch-philologische Klasse, Göttingen, 1888.

AJA American Journal of Archaeology.

Arch. Anz. Archäologische Anzeiger, Beiblatt zu dem Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Berlin, 1886.

Athen. Mitt. Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung, Athen, 1876.

Denk. d. Akad. Wien. Denkschrifter der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Wien, 1850.

JHS Journal of Hellenic Studies

JRIBA Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

Oesterr. Jahresh. Jahresheft des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien, Wien, 1898.

RE Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Realencyclopaedie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1894.

Thieme-Becker. Kunstlexicon: Allgemeines Lexicon der bildenden Kuenstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, hrsg. von Ulrich Thieme u. Felix Becker.

THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHESOS

By Bluma L. Trell

INTRODUCTION

It was Professor Karl Lehmann's theory that we might learn much about ancient architecture by a methodical study of ancient coins; Dr. Donald F. Brown, in his monograph "Temples of Rome as Coin-Types",[2] initiated this technique of methodical study. This present investigation was undertaken in the first instance to test, by means of evidence other than numismatic, the faithfulness of the representations upon coins of the temples of Asia Minor, and to determine to what degree these representations might safely be used as aids in the reconstruction of ancient buildings. The architectural data revealed by this test-investigation have proved of so much interest that they are here presented for their own sake; for these coins, which had appeared to be no more than tiresome stylizations, proved, when studied methodically, to be reliable source materials for the history of architecture.

What is "methodical study" as applied to numismatic evidence? To determine in what respects, and

[2] Donald F. Brown, *Temples of Rome as Coin Types*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 90, New York, 1940; cf. Donald F. Brown, *Architectura Numismatica, Part I, The Temples of Rome*, New York University, 1941, diss. unpublished.

to what degree, the representations of a particular temple are faithful, it is necessary:

I: To assemble and examine all known coins representing a particular building.

II: To compare these coins with those representing other temples of the same region to determine the local numismatic tradition.

III: To test these coins against all other available evidence: archaeological, epigraphical and literary.

This procedure is, of course, fundamental to the study of any evidence. However, archaeologists have tended to mistrust, and therefore to neglect, numismatic evidence as to architectural detail. Where coins have been studied at all, an unsystematic use of them has sometimes led to unwarranted conclusions. Thus, the failure to collect all available numismatic evidence in Schleif's study of the sanctuary of Hera at Samos—Schleif used only two of a very long series of coins representing the temple—led to the incorrect assumption that the coins represented a Roman temple and its associated shrine. In the Sardis publication, not only did the investigator base his conclusions on a single coin-type, but also he failed to compare that coin-type with the issues of other cities of the region. Thus, he missed the numismatic convention of representing several temples on a single coin, and came to the false conclusion that the four buildings shown on the coin he used were four aspects of the temple of Artemis at Sardis. (For details of these two

investigations, and for critical comment, see Appendix A). Only the most rigorously methodical investigation of numismatic evidence yields valid data for the reconstruction of ancient buildings.

To such a rigorous methodical investigation we have subjected approximately 1800 coins—250 separate coin-types—representing thirty-eight different buildings.[3] (See Appendix B for a listing of these temples, and for detailed information as to the collection of the numismatic evidence). Testing of this evidence against other evidence establishes the fact that, within the limitations of the numismatic conventions of the region, the coins do present faithful pictures of actual temples. Let us define these conventions; they offer a code which, properly translated, gives a clue to the architectural history of the temples.

1. "Numismatic abbreviations" are constantly in evidence: reductions in number or size of details, omission of details, and stylization.

2. The architectural order is always represented with absolute reliability. Three types of columns appear: Ionic, Corinthian and Composite. On the most skillfully engraved types, the Corinthian capital is shown by means of acanthus leaves below volutes[4] (Pl. VI, 1); the Ionic by means of volutes and convex moulding (Pl. I, 2); the Composite by

[3] Bluma L. Trell, *Architectura Numismatica, Part II, Temples in Asia Minor*, New York University, 1942, diss. unpublished.

[4] For an explanation of the technical terms, see the glossary in Anderson, Spiers and Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 1927, pp. 213–223

volutes above a decorated bell (Pl. VI, 4). Not all these details are always present; sometimes the engraver, employing numismatic abbreviation, omitted this or that detail of the capital to accommodate the demands of the design. The exceptions to the rule that the coins invariably show the actual order of the temple occur only on "multiple"-type coins: i. e., coins on which two or more temples are shown; in these cases, the same capital is likely to be shown in all the buildings. (See Appendix C)

3. As to the number of columns, the ancient engraver never showed more than actually existed. In many cases, however, he showed fewer than the actual number to make room for a cult image or to accommodate other demands of the design. A hexastyle, for example, might represent a temple of more than six columns, but never one of fewer. In this respect, the provincial coins differ from the coins of Rome, which more often than not preserve the actual number of columns. Though the value of this rule may seem slight, the archaeologist, who must weight all evidence, can make use, in his reconstruction, even of this "minimum" number of columns. (See Appendix A, pp. 39f.). The reduction of the number of columns is another example of numismatic abbreviation.

4. Of highest significance is the discovery that the ancient engraver never "invented" details. He might omit or abbreviate, as we have noted, but he never added. Indeed, when a detail was introduced which differed from the usual stylization,—such a detail I characterize as "outside the norm"—it was

a manifestation, not of the artist's imagination, but of his observation. The best examples of the truth of this statement can be seen in the details of the superstructure. These are generally represented in extremely stylized and abbreviated form: simple or dotted lines for mouldings (Pl. I, 2), geometric figures and palmettes for antefixes (Pl. XX) and acroteria (Pl. IV, 1), a shield or disk-like device for pedimental decoration (Pl. III, 2). However, on the coins representing the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, the dentils of the cornice, the openings in the tympanum, the figures of the pediment, are all pictures of what actually existed, as will appear. It is unfortunate that we cannot demonstrate that the spiral columns and arcuated entablatures of some of the Eastern coin-types—details "outside the norm"—also represent actual architectural forms. Considerable evidence, however, exists for the reliability of the coins in this respect. (See Appendix D.)

5. Among stylized details we may consider the representation of steps. As in the case of the Roman temple-coins, we may say that the coins always showed steps when these existed; the number, however, was not always accurately indicated.[5] A podium known to be high was in some instances indicated by more than the canonical three steps. On the coins of Pergamon, the parotids—a detail "outside the norm"—helped to identify the temple

[5] Brown, *Temples of Rome*, p. 16

represented as the Traianeum[6] (Pl. VIII, 4), which is known to have had this structural arrangement.

With this numismatic code in mind, the coins can be safely and profitably used as source-materials for the history of architecture.[7] The value of using such evidence for the reconstruction of individual buildings is obvious: the extent of that value will appear in this study of the temple of Artemis at Ephesos. Of equal interest is the light thrown by numismatic evidence upon the history of certain architectural forms: the openings in the pediment and the arcuated lintel. Indeed, we shall find that what has hitherto been considered an invention of the second century B. C. may now be traced with complete certainty to the late classical period, and with almost complete certainty to the late geometric period.

[6] *Altertümer von Pergamon* V[2], *Das Traianeum* von Hermann Stiller mit einem Beitrage von Otto Raschdorff, Berlin, 1895; J. L. Ussing, *Pergamos, Seine Geschichte und Monumente*, Berlin, 1899, pp. 107–110; Léon M. Collignon, *Pergame, restauration et descriptions des monuments de l'acropole*, restauration par Emmanuel Pontremoli, texte par M. Collignon, Paris, 1900, pp. 153–162; *Altertümer von Pergamon* I[2], *Stadt und Landschaft* von Alexander Conze, and others, Berlin, 1912–1913, p. 283; William von Massow, *Führer durch das Pergamonmuseum*, Berlin, 1932, pp. 104–105; W. Zschietzschmann, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencylopaedie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, s. v. "Pergamon," 1259

[7] The great shrine of Apollo Klarios lies waiting, in an inviting embankment, for the archaeologist (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, XXXIX (1915) 38, fig. 3). The temple-coins of Kolophon offer a preview of the temple he will find.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHESOS

The elevation of the temple of Artemis at Ephesos presented as the frontispiece is based largely upon the representations of the famous sanctuary found on the coins of that city. That no such reconstruction has hitherto been proposed is due principally to persistent but unfounded mistrust of numismatic evidence. Curiously enough, before the discovery of the temple on the plain southwest of Ayassoluk Hill at Ephesos, these numismatic representations were, except for the famous account in Pliny N. H. xxxvi, 95, the only evidence as to the appearance of the building. Though casual reference has recently been made to the numismatic evidence, a systematic and thorough-going study is still in order, and will show, I believe, that the coins are still quite as important for the reconstruction of the temple as they were before Wood's discovery of the sanctuary in 1869.

The history of the famous sanctuary, one of the Seven Wonders of the World, is a long one. Five successive shrines are known to have existed on the site, three early temples, the A, B, and C temples, the Croesus temple, D, and the late classical building, E.[8] The plans of the last two have been recon-

[8] A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, II, 1900, pp. 165–200; *Forschungen in Ephesos* I, Vienna, 1906, pp. 2–45; Erwin Wurz, *Plastische Dekoration des Stützwerkes in Baukunst und Kunstgewerbe des Altertums*, Strassburg, 1906 (Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes, V. 43) pp. 39–41, fig. 39; Bürchner, in *RE*, s. v. "Ephesos," 2810–2813; Arthur E. Henderson, "Excavations at

structed with reasonable certainty. However, the details of the superstructure are still a matter of controversy. Such reconstructions as have been suggested have been made largely on the basis of the sculptured pieces and other fragments of the temple now in the British Museum. The most recent proposals are admittedly based on indirect evidence: on an analogy with another famous sanctuary, the temple of Artemis at Sardis. Furthermore, these

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Ephesus and Restoration of the Croesus (Sixth Century B. C.) Structure," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 3rd ser., 16 (1908–09) 538–540; W. R. Lethaby, *Greek Buildings, Represented in Fragments in the British Museum*, London, 1908, pp. 1–36; Lethaby, "The Sculpture of the Later Temple of Artemis at Ephesus," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 33 (1913) 87–96; Lethaby, "Further Notes on the Sculpture of the Later Temple of Artemis at Ephesus," *JHS*, 34 (1914) 76–88; Henderson, "The Hellenistic Temple of Artemis at Ephesus," *JRIBA*, 3rd ser., 22 (1914–15) 130–134; Lethaby, "The Temple of Artemis at Ephesus," *JRIBA*, 3rd ser., 22 (1914–15) 164; Lethaby, "Another Note on the Sculpture of the Later Temple of Artemis at Ephesus," *JHS*, 36 (1916) 25–35; Ch. Picard, *Ephèse et Claros, Recherches sur les sanctuaires et les cultes de l'Ionie du Nord*, Paris, 1922, pp. 36–45; Howard Crosby Butler, "The Elevated Columns of Sardis and the Sculptured Pedestals from Ephesus," *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay*, edited by W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, Manchester, 1923, pp. 51–57; *Sardis* II, I, *The Temple of Artemis*, by Howard Crosby Butler, 1925, pp. 93–97; Fritz Krischen, "Der Entwurf des Maussolleions," *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, VII (1927) (Hochbauteil 10 bis 12) 89–90; Anderson, Spiers, Dinsmoor, pp. 140–142; G. Steinlein, "Oesterreichische Ausgrabungen in Ephesos," *Die Bauzeitung*, 43 (1928) 441–444; Lethaby, "More Greek Studies—VIII; The Hellenistic Temple at Ephesus," *The Builder*, 1929, No. 4522, pp. 566–568; Henderson, "The Temple of Diana at Ephesus," *JRIBA*, 3rd ser., 40 (1932–33) 767–771; Krischen, "Das Artemision von Ephesos," *Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1933, pp. 71–77; Krischen, *Die Griechische Stadt*, Berlin, 1938, pp. xix–xx, plates 34–36; Isabel Hoopes Grinnell, *Greek Temples*, New York, 1943, pp. 5–7, plate VI

proposals discuss only, for the most part, the arrangement of the columns. Other problems of the superstructure are not considered, on the ground that too little is known about the details. Direct evidence for the arrangement of the columns is to be found by methodical study of the coins, however, and details of the superstructure likewise can be established by the same means.

The coins we have cover the centuries between the reigns of Claudius and Valerian I[9] (Pls. I, 2–V, 8; VI, 2, 3, 7; VII, 1–3; IX, 1; XX), and refer to the last or E building (often erroneously called the Hellenistic temple), as it appeared in the Roman period. This temple was built in the fourth century, after the earlier Croesus temple had been destroyed by the "infamous" Herostratos. This temple was a huge Ionic structure, built on massive foundations which carried great flights of steps on all four sides. It was dipteral in design, with eight columns on the main façade. The characteristic figure of Artemis Ephesia,[10] which appears on most of the coins within

[9] With one possible exception, buildings were not represented on coins before the Roman period: the earliest representation is that of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus found on an issue of the city of Rome (Brown, *Architectura Numismatica*, *op. cit.*, p. iv); in the province of Asia, the earliest architectural type was issued under the authority of C. Fannius, the governor there in 49–48 B. C.

[10] This figure represents the cult image which stood within the temple. Picard (*Ephèse et Claros*, pp. 526–538) offers a substantial iconographical study citing previous literature; see also W. Deonna, "Trois statuettes d'Artémis Éphésienne," *Revue Archéologique*, 5th ser., 19 (1924) 5–23; Josef Keil, "XV. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos," *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, 26 (1930) Beibl., pp. 62–63; Hermann Thiersch, "Artemis Ephesia, Eine Archäologische Untersuchung," *Abhand. Gött. Akad.*, No. 12, 1935, pp. 1–150; Fernand Chapouthier, "La coiffe d'Artémis dans Éphèse trois fois néocore," *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 40 (1938) 125–132

the central intercolumniation of the temple, identifies the building represented as the Artemision. The Ionic order of the building is indicated accurately; in this respect the coins are invariably reliable. While some of the coins show the actual octostyle façade, the number of columns is reduced on others in conformity to the numismatic convention commonly followed in the Near East. On the large coins all eight columns are pictured; on the smaller, four or six; on the smallest of all, only two.[11] However, the small coins do sometimes supply interesting details, in spite of their abbreviation.

Though the column-arrangement is so clearly indicated on the coins as to require no discussion, the representations of the pediment offer a more complicated problem. These representations differ from one another in some respects. The coin-type with the greatest number of details shows the following arrangement of the pediment: in the center, there is a rectangle, on either side of which is a standing figure with arm upraised; beyond, on each side, is a smaller rectangle, and, in each angle, a small reclining figure; in the apex, there is a circular, convex object attached to the raking cornice and suspended slightly below it (Pl. I, 2, 3). All the other designs are variations or reductions of this complex. In some cases, the corner figures are omitted, but all the other details retained (Pl. III, 1). In others, the three rectangles are suppressed

[11] This fact has already been noted (B. Pick, "Die Neokorien von Ephesos," *Corolla Numismatica, Numismatic Studies in honor of Barclay V. Head*, Oxford, 1906, p. 236, note 3)

(Pl. XX); some specimens of this type show the corner figures moved toward the center of the pediment (Pl. II, 4). A fourth type omits the smaller figures and the central rectangle, but shows the standing figures, the smaller rectangles and the circular convex detail in the apex (Pl. II, 5). A fifth type omits all figures, and represents only the three rectangles and the apex-figure (Pl. I, 6). A further simplification of this last scheme is a pediment decorated with only the central rectangle and the circular detail in the apex (Pl. II, 1). On some coins, the pediment has no decoration at all (Pl. II, 2). On others a shield or disk-like device appears in the center of the tympanum (Pl. III, 2). Such a device is often used to designate pedimental decoration.[12] It must not be confused with the circular, convex detail of the apex. The latter is always found with other decorative details and is always attached to the raking cornice. The rectangles in the pediment are not always identically represented: one type shows three simple lines (Pl. I, 4); another adds a fourth line on the lower side (Pl. I, 3); still others present a frame around the central rectangle, and show the opening tapering somewhat toward the top (Pl. I, 2, 3).

In spite of these variations, the details of all the representations are essentially the same: three rectangles, standing figures in the center, a reclining figure in each angle, a circular convex object in the apex. Sometimes all are given; sometimes there is

[12] Brown, *Temples of Rome*, p. 17

abbreviation. Considering only the coins, one comes to an inevitable conclusion: behind these representations there must be a common design[13]—a design which inspired, directly or indirectly, all the variations. This design must have been the design of the actual pediment. That the rectangles represent real details will be established beyond any doubt by other evidence. That the remaining details must also be reflections of reality necessarily follows, for we know that the ancient engraver never invented.

What actually was the design of the pediment? Here the coins are of the greatest value to the archaeologist, for of this portion of the building, only two pieces of the tympanum are preserved. The problem had long puzzled the numismatists.[14] The coins of another Anatolian city, Magnesia a. M. (Pls. VII, 4–VIII, 3) proved to be the key to the solution: they supplied the evidence which had been lacking for proposed reconstructions.[15] The coins

[13] It is for this reason that I reject Leake's (William Martin Leake, *Hellenica, A Catalogue of Greek Coins*, London, 1856, Asiatic Greece, p. 56) interpretation of the central figures on the coin of Claudius as female, and of those on the Hadrian issue as male. They must certainly be the same in both cases. One specimen clearly shows them to be female (Pl. XX)

[14] In the numismatic literature, the rectangles have been described as tables (B. M. C., *Roman Empire* I, p. 197, 229, Pl. 34.1; III, p. 394, 1091, Pl. 75.3), as a cippus and altars (Mionnet, *Suppl.*, VI, p. 127, 325), as "une espèce de porte, aux côtés de laquelle, il y a deux personnages qui tiennent la main levée, deux autels et deux cerfs" (J. de Witte, *Description des médailles et des antiquités du Cabinet de M. L'Abbé H. G.****, Paris, 1856, 936)

[15] Lethaby, *JHS*, 34 (1914) 87; J. Durm, *Die Baukunst der Griechen*, Dritte Auflage, Leipzig, 1910 (Handbuch der Architektur, Band I), p. 341

of Magnesia sometimes show three rectangles (Pl. VII, 5–7), as do some of the Ephesian types; but, as in the Ephesian series, the number is occasionally abbreviated to two or one (Pls. VIII, 2; VII, 4). Detailed comparison shows how similar the coin-types of the two cities are, for in both series some of the coins indicate a frame on the central rectangle, and the upward tapering (Pls. I, 2; VII, 5).

On the coins of Magnesia the meaning of the rectangles is at once apparent.[16] We know that

[16] At the time that the investigations at Magnesia were conducted, no reference was made to the temple-types as such, nor has any been made since, so far as I know. The only reference to the coins is in the collection of inscriptions (see note 17). It is important for the method used in the present study to point out that, even if reference had been made to the temple-types reproduced in the numismatic literature then, as well as now, no particular assistance would have been obtained. The types illustrated in the numismatic literature do not show the rectangles. The unpublished specimens obtained from the cabinets of Europe and that of the late Mr. Newell produced this unusual detail. The early numismatists, who saw these types, interpreted the rectangles as the letters: ππ (Mionnet, *Suppl.*, VI, p. 237, 1034; Sestini, *Museo Hedervariano* I, 1829, p. 179, 9; Wiczay, *Musei Hedervarii* I, p. 215, 4941, who read : π[ρωτει] π[ολεως]).

Professor Robinson, in his discussion of the openings in the pediments at Magnesia and Antioch, collected examples of what he terms "the Ionic or Asiatic trick of such sham doorway or window" and cites the coins of Ephesos, Baalbek and Emesa (David M. Robinson, "Roman Sculpture from Colonia Caesarea," *The Art Bulletin*, IX, No. 1 (1926) 17, note 17). The shape of the rectangle on the Emesa coins (B. M. C., *Galatia*, Pl. XXVII, 12, 14), broad instead of high, throws doubt upon an interpretation of it as an opening. It may be the base of an altar, as is tentatively suggested in the British Museum catalogue. Among the buildings cited by Professor Robinson were several that I had not noted and I am deeply grateful to him for calling my attention to his article.

Another example of the "open" pediment is to be found on a series of coins minted at Laodiceia, Phrygia. The temple repre-

there were actually three doors or openings in the pediment of the Hermogenes temple of Artemis Leukophryene[17] (Pl. XV); the cornice and frames of these openings are extant in part, and there is evidence that the openings were, or could be closed with wooden shutters. Since these openings are portrayed as rectangles on the coins of Magnesia, the rectangles on the coins of Ephesos, which are in the same numismatic tradition, must also represent doors or openings which actually existed in the tympanum of the great temple. Hermogenes, in the second half of the second century, B. C.,[18] therefore, was not an innovator in his Magnesia temple, but was following the model of the much earlier Ephesian temple. Nor was even this the first occurrence

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sented has not yet been identified. One type, in the Copenhagen collection, has only one opening (cf. Mionnet, *Suppl.*, VII. p. 585, 448); other types have three (Weber III², p. 524, 7144, Pl. 255; *Numismaticheskii Svornik*, Vol. I, 1911, p. 334, Pl. XVII, 19; Egger Sale, XLVI, 1914, Pl. XXVIII, 1779)

[17] Otto Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, Berlin, 1900; Kern, "Magnetische Studien," *Hermes, Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie*, 36 (1901) 491–515; Carl Humann, *Magnesia am Maeander, Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Jahre 1891–1893*, Berlin, 1904, pp. 39–106; Fabricius, in *RE*, s. v. "Hermogenes," 879–880; Schede in *Thieme-Becker*, s. v. "Hermogenes," pp. 511–512; Armin von Gerkan, *Der Altar des Artemis-Tempels in Magnesia am Mäander*, Berlin, 1929; Bürchner, in *RE*, s. v. "Magnesia," 471–472; Massow, *Führer durch das Pergamonmuseum*, pp. 28–31; Willy Zschietzschmann, *Die Antike Kunst*, Bd. II, zweiter Teil, *Die Hellenistische und Römische Kunst*, Potsdam, 1939 (*Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*, Band II, Teil 2) p. 21; Adelbert Birnbaum, "Vitruvius und die griechische Architectur," *Denk. d. Akad. Wien*, 57, IV Abh., 1914, pp. 6–25; Krischen, *Die Griechische Stadt*, p. xxii, plate 39

[18] For the date, see von Gerkan, *Der Altar des Artemis-Tempels*, pp. 32–35

of the "open" pediment: the earliest known example occurs in the model from the Argive Heraion,[19] which dates from the late geometric period. A little-known object, found in central Italy, and almost as early in date as the Argive model, offers evidence for the existence of the same architectural tradition in the West. This is a cinerary urn of terra-cotta in the form of a house probably dated eighth or seventh century B. C.; it has an opening in each pediment (Plate XXVII). Thus we have pushed back the date of the origin of this architectural form at least two hundred years, and possibly four hundred more than that.

The function of the openings at Magnesia has been the subject of considerable debate. It may appear that this question has little relevance to our reconstruction of the temple of Ephesos; however, unless the static function of these openings, long since suggested by scholars, is accepted, the sculptured figures indicated on the coins would have weighted the pediment too heavily. Let us examine the history of these openings, therefore, to determine whether they were in fact used to lighten the weight of the epistyle.

Consciousness of the need for lightening the weight of the pediment appears in very early examples. The earliest occurs, as we have stated, in the model

[19] Kurt Müller, "Gebäudemodelle spätgeometrischer Zeit," *Athen. Mitt.*, 48 (1923) 52–68; Γεώργιος Π. Οἰκονόμος, "Ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀργείου Ἡραίου πήλινος οἰκίσκος κατὰ νέαν συμπλήρωσιν." Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς 1931, pp. 1–53; Humfry Payne, *Perachora, The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia*, 1940, pp. 42–51

from the Argive Heraion and in the cinerary urn from Italy. Müller,[20] who, with other scholars,[21] inclines to the theory that the Argive model represents a temple, believes that the opening was used to lighten the weight of the pediment. Dinsmoor,[22] in describing the beams across the central intercolumniation of the east façade of the Propylaia, showed how these had been hollowed out to relieve the epistyle, and how an opening over the central gate of the same building must have had a similar purpose. Again, at the so-called Temple of Concord at Akragas, there is an opening in each of the four triangular walls which subdivide the roof space; the one above the naos door was made wider than the other three, apparently for the purpose of relieving the lintel.[23] However, these openings—those in the Propylaia and at Akragas—were not visible from the outside, and are therefore not strictly in the tradition we are discussing.

At Ephesos, however, there may have been an even earlier and closer parallel. If it is true that the superstructure of the Croesus building, the Archaic Artemision (D), was actually of stone,[24] as is sug-

[20] Müller, *Athen. Mitt.*, 48 (1923) 63

[21] Donald S. Robertson, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architectvre*, Cambridge, 1929, p. 54; K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "Wesen und Gestalt griechischer Heiligtümer," *Die Antike*, 7 (1931) 44

[22] William B. Dinsmoor, "The Gables of the Propylaea at Athens," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 14 (1910) 143–184

[23] Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 14 (1910) 172, note 1; Pirro Marconi, *Agrigento*, Florence, 1929, p. 85, fig. 52

[24] The Croesus temple may have had a wooden epistyle. Lethaby ("The Earlier Temple of Artemis at Ephesus," *JHS*, 37 [1917] 11) suggests that the old story of the architect refers to the sixth cen-

gested by the touching old story of the architect who contemplated suicide in his despair over the problem of fixing the thirty-foot marble beam over the columns, then its pediment may have been, like that of its successor E, a pediment with three openings. It is reasonable to assume that the later building adopted this detail from the Croesus temple. We know with certainty,—from the fact, for example, that the fourth century column-base, discovered in situ, was built directly above the earlier base—that the plan of the fourth century building closely followed that of the archaic shrine. In fact, the concept of decoration on a column-base is unique to this sanctuary in the early ancient world; the extant drums of the fourth century differ from those of the sixth century only in style. This conservatism—the use of earlier and firmly established forms—can be traced in all of Greek architecture. The tradition of pedimental openings designed to relieve the epistyle is thus seen to run continuously from the late geometric period.

Examples from the imperial period show that the openings occur, in most cases, either in large buildings which required the lightening of the epistyle, or in association with other architectural devices that point to a static function. At Ephesos itself, the so-called Serapeion of the second century A. D., which had three openings in its pediment, was a

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tury building although, in his opinion, it is difficult to suppose that a marble beam nearly thirty feet long was set above capitals which were so narrow transversely.

huge octostyle[25] (Pl. XVI). This temple appears on the coins of Ephesos; it was a shrine built for Hadrian, and dedicated to the provincial worship of the emperors, as numismatic evidence indicates (See Appendix E). The same evidence shows also that two other temples of Ephesos had pediments with openings (See Appendix E). One is the temple of Domitian,[26] which is actually extant, though its superstructure is lost; the other is the temple of Macrinus-Elagabalus, which is known only from the coins. The size of this latter is therefore not known, but the temple of Domitian, like the so-called Serapeion, was a huge octostyle; so also the great temple of Bel at Palmyra,[27] which has only recently been found to have had a pediment with an opening, on either side of which was a bust in relief.[28] In these instances, the function of the openings must have been static; the builders of the enormous imperial temples must have faced the same problem as the architect of the Artemision, and have adopted

[25] This is the so-called Temple of Claudius: Rudolph Heberdey, "XI, Vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen in Ephesos, 1913," *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, XVIII (1915) Beibl., pp. 79–87; Josef Keil, "XII, Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos," *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, XXIII (1926) Beibl., pp. 265–270; Keil, *Ephesos, Ein Führer durch die Ruinenstätte und ihre Geschichte*, Vienna, 1930, pp. 78–80, fig. 45

[26] Keil, "XVI, Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos," *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, XXVII (1932) Beibl., pp. 54–60

[27] R. Dussaud, P. Deschamps, H. Seyrig, *La Syrie antique et médiévale illustrée*, Paris, 1931, plates 40–43; Theodor Wiegand, *Palmyra, Ergebnisse der Expeditionen von 1902 und 1917*, Berlin, 1932

[28] Henri Seyrig, in a lecture at Columbia University, November 18, 1938

the same solution—opening the tympana—to lighten the weight.

The temple of Augustus at Antioch in Pisidia, erected in the age of Augustus, also had an "open" pediment: in the west pediment, there was a large central opening; in the east pediment, a smaller one.[29] The influence of the Magnesia temple architecture is thus clearly shown, and Strabo's statement that Antioch was founded by the Magnesians is confirmed.[30] At Baalbek, too, both the great temple and the temple of Bacchus have been restored with one central pedimental opening (Pl. XVII, a), which appears to have had a static function. That there was a single opening in the tympanum of the smaller building is an archaeological certainty.[31] The suggestion that there was but one opening in the large temple is admittedly based on conjecture, as we do not know from what part of the pediment the pertinent blocks came. The Baalbek report indicates that, if the blocks were from the side of the tympanum, the pediment was to be reconstructed with three openings.[32] The known

[29] Robinson, *The Art Bulletin*, IX, No. 1, (1926) 17. A temple dedicated to Rome and Augustus at Mylasa had a similar pediment (Plate XXVIII); extant in the early part of the eighteenth century (Jacob Spon and George Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 et 1676*, La Haye, 1724, p. 214, pl. II; Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries*, London, 1743–45, Vol. 2, Part 2, p. 61, plate LV), the temple was soon thereafter destroyed (cf. Ruge in *RE*, s. v. "Mylasa" 1063)

[30] Robinson, *Ibid.*, p. 18

[31] *Baalbek, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und der Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905* II, Berlin & Leipzig, 1923, p. 11

[32] *Baalbek, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905* I, Berlin & Leipzig, 1921, p. 63

coin-types of Baalbek (Heliopolis) do not offer much assistance in this problem. Only one, an unicum (Pl. XVII, b), of the several varieties[33] that represent the temple, shows a detailed decoration of the pediment.[34] While this coin does indicate one opening, confirming the actual reconstruction, it is possible that other coin-types of Baalbek may become known which will show that the single opening represented was an abbreviation for three. If this were true, the great Baalbek temple continued the tradition of Ephesos.

Two cases where the "open" pediment is found in association with other architectural devices for lightening the tympanum occur in Syria. At Dmêr (ancient Admedera) near Damascus, the temple (?) dated 245 A. D., has a rectangular opening in the tympanum at the south end. On either side of the window is a bust in relief. At either end of the building are portals, each surmounted by an arch.[35] The presence of these arches shows that the builders were seeking to relieve the weight of the superstructure, and that they intended the window above in the tympanum to serve the same purpose. In the Mosque of Walid at Damascus there is contained a monumental arch known as Bab el Barid (second or

[33] R. Winnefeld, "Zur Geschichte des Syrischen Heliopolis," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 69 (1914) 139–159, plate opp. page 144

[34] The same detail is shown on a small lead votive figure of Zeus Heliopolis (Henri Seyrig, "La Triade Héliopolitaine et les temples de Baalbek," *Syria*, 10 (1929) plate 84, no. 1)

[35] Howard Crosby Butler, *Architecture and other Arts, Part II of the Publications of the American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900*, New York, 1903, pp. 400–402

third century A. D.). The preserved portion of this arch shows an arcuated lintel, the curve of which rises well into the pediment; in the tympanum on one side of the lintel, there is a small framed opening.[36] There must have been another such opening on the opposite side of the arch. The arrangement most certainly points to the fact that the function of both arch and window was static.[37] It would appear clear, therefore, that openings in pediments were constructed to lighten the weight of the superstructure.

However, no discussion of the function of pediment-openings would be complete without presentation of certain other theories advanced. Humann[38] suggested that the openings at Magnesia were associated with the epiphany of Artemis. While a static function seems to have been primary at Magnesia, Humann's suggestion is not to be altogether rejected. The fact that the Artemision at Ephesos also had openings reinforces this theory of a ritual function. The cult-image of Artemis Leukophryene of Magnesia is similar to that of Artemis Ephesia, as represented on the coins. Both goddesses must have been forms of the ancient mother-goddess of Asia Minor.[39] The fact that, as goddesses of

[36] G. T. Rivoira, *Moslem Architecture, Its Origin and Development*, Oxford, 1918, p. 93, fig. 87; Dussaud, *La Syrie Antique*, plate 47

[37] For a brief discussion of the function of the arch, see S. Butler Murray, Jr., *Hellenistic Architecture in Syria*, Princeton, 1917, pp. 13–14

[38] Humann, *Magnesia am Maeander*, p. 64, note 1

[39] W. H. Roscher, *Ausführlisches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, II, Leipzig, 1894–1897, pp. 2000–2010; Kern, *Hermes*, 36 (1901) 507; Kern, in Sitzungsberichte der archäolog. Gesellschaft zu Berlin, *Arch. Anz.*, IX (1894) 123

fecundity, they were goddesses also of the moon, may explain why both temples were "oriented" toward the west.[40] But this ritual function of the openings or doors cannot account for the examples from the imperial period, cited above, where no such ritual can be supposed. We should have to assume that, even after the original need for the openings had disappeared, the openings themselves were retained in temple architecture. Perhaps, as in modern buildings, the openings were windows, introduced merely to permit air and light to enter the interior of the roof.[41] Seyrig suggests that, whatever its original function, the opening at Baalbek may have been used to allow passage to the exterior of the pediment for cleaning.[42] Michaelis'[43] suggestion that, because there was no other decoration, the pediments probably required some break in the great surface, would hardly explain the use of what that scholar himself called a "tasteless innovation," especially since the openings occur even where there is decoration.

To sum up: the fact that the huge pediment of the temple of Artemis at Ephesos had openings—and that many of the other examples occur in large buildings, or in association with details indicating

[40] Humann, *Magnesia am Maeander*, p. 4

[41] Durm, *Die Baukunst der Griechen*, p. 341; Charles Texier, *Asie Mineure, description géographique, historique et archéologique des provinces et des villes de la Chersonnèse d'Asie*, Paris, 1882, p. 351

[42] Henri Seyrig, "Heliopolitana," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, Paris, 1937, p. 99

[43] A. Michaelis, *A Century of Archaeological Studies*, New York, 1908, p. 181

static function—suggests that the primary purpose of these openings was static. This explanation does not exclude the other functions suggested: to serve in a ritual; to permit the passage of light and air into the interior; and to permit access to the exterior of the pediment.

Unlike the coins of Magnesia, which show no more than the openings, or a shield or disk-like device, the coins of Ephesos do show pedimental sculpture, and, as stated above, with a consistency of design that makes it clear that a single design must have inspired them all: that of the actual pediment. Some scholars have rejected the possibility of the existence of pedimental sculpture, on the ground that the epistyle over the enormous central intercolumniation of the portico could not safely have carried colossal figures.[44] If indeed the openings or doors were employed for static purposes, as we have seen, and, by their presence in the tympanum, did in fact relieve the epistyle, this objection of the scholars is no longer tenable. It is not possible to state with any exactness the difference in stress resulting from the removal of the blocks to make the openings. It is reasonable to assume, however, that the stress must have been sufficiently relieved to permit the introduction of the four figures indicated by the coins. Furthermore, two of the figures recline in the angles; the others may have stood above the central columns, so that the central lintel was in no way endangered. It is true

[44] Lethaby, *JHS*, 34 (1914) 87

that the two preserved fragments of the tympanum have been described as showing "no indication of pedimental sculpture,"[45] but that finding does not preclude the existence of decorative figures. The figures stood in front of the tympanum, and did not necessarily touch the rear wall; at most, there would have been signs of attachment at only a few points. The only building blocks which could have supplied a clue would have been those of the floor of the pediment. These, unfortunately, have not come down to us; in fact, no portion of the building above the entablature is known, except some terra cotta roof tiles and the two pieces of the tympanum described. However, the existence of the figures may be safely predicated upon the numismatic evidence.

Do the four figures of the coins represent four actual figures, or is this number, like the column-number, an abbreviation? It is safe to say that because so many coins representing the Artemision were included in this study, there must be very few unknown varieties. On the many known varieties, no more than four figures ever appear, though there is sometimes room for additional ones. In some instances, the number is reduced to two. We have seen, in the case of the openings, that though abbreviation occurs, the maximum number shown is the actual number intended. Here the largest number, four, appears to be the actual number.

An arrangement of figures around openings is not without precedent. Similar and even earlier exam-

[45] Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum* II, p. 183

ples of this tradition are to be seen in the Harpy Tomb from Xanthos,[46] the relief of Apollo, the Nymphs and Graces from Thasos,[47] and the gable end of a Tomb from Xanthos[48] (Pl. XVIII). The bust in relief on either side of the openings in the pediments at Palmyra and Dmêr may be an echo of this tradition, and an arrangement bearing a startling similarity to that of the Ephesian coins occurs on a Roman relief which represents the pediment of the temple of Quirinus restored by Augustus in 16 B. C.[49] (Pl. XIX).

To describe the four pedimental figures,[50] to identify them and to establish the significance of the scene depicted, is difficult. The admittedly fanciful reconstruction of Henderson, found in the handbooks,[51] shows "Artemis mothering her devotees, who are bringing gifts from Asia and Europe; they are conducted by the Messenger," for Henderson

[46] F. N. Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum, Vol. I, Part I, Prehellenic and Early Greek*, 1928, pp. 122–128, B. 287, plates, XXI–XXIV

[47] Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs, grecs et romains, Tome Premier, Les Ensembles*, Paris, 1909, pp. 425–426

[48] Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 132, B. 290, fig. 180

[49] Eugenia Strong, *La Scultura Romana da Augusto a Constantino*, Vol. I, Florence, 1932, pp. 72–74, fig. 48

[50] In the numismatic literature, the figures are described as "standing figures r. and l., supporting shield . . . and two recumbent figures (?) in the angles" (B. M. C. *Roman Empire*, I, p. 197, 229, plate 34.1); "two female figures each holding a torch" (Leake, *Hellenica*, p. 56); "two male figures adv. and raising an arm" (*Ibid.*, p. 56); "deux figures élévant les mains sur un autel, aux deux coins du frontin, un dauphin" (Mionnet, III, p. 96, 269)

[51] Henderson, *JRIBA*, 3rd ser., 22 (1914–1915) plate on page 133

thought "it was inconceivable that the designer of the great temple of Artemis could by deliberate intention withhold a representation of the great Asiatic goddess from the place of honor in the tympanum."[52] This scene bears no relationship to the ever-recurring theme of the coins. Artemis is obviously not represented in the pediment on the coins. Furthermore, as far as our knowledge of Greek pedimental decoration goes, there was no rule which required the representation of the divinity to whom the temple was sacred in the pediment. We know that some pediments did not have such representations: the temple of Artemis at Korfu, the Bluebeard pediment at Athens, the temple of Aphaia at Aigina, the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea.

Our reconstruction (Frontispiece) suggests that the four figures of the coins are Amazons, a suggestion offered tentatively, with the notion that there is a relationship between the coin figures, and the four famous statues of Amazons known to have been dedicated in the sanctuary. The myth of the Amazons who fled for asylum to the great temple connects the subject with the building. Lehmann concludes that the four statues, each the work of a master—Phidias, Polykleitos, Kresilas, and Phradmon were the artists—decorated the altar of temple D in the fifth century, and after the fire in the fourth, were transferred to the new temple E.[53] The pedi-

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 132

[53] Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, "The Amazon Group," *Parnassus, Publication of the College Art Association*, VIII (1936) 9–11

mental sculptures may have represented the same Amazons, for the characteristic upraised arm, so clear on the coins, is familiar to us from the famous Roman copies.[54]

What is the meaning of this scene? Three doors, arranged so that the central door is higher than the lateral doors, suggest a propylon. We have, therefore, a landscape: in the background is a gate to a sanctuary; at the doors of the gate are the Amazons, who stand or recline as they wait for admission. Perhaps the propylon in the tympanum is a picture of one that actually stood before the great temple of Artemis. No such gate is preserved, but the existence of one may be supposed on the basis of a tradition which hardly requires comment. Landscape-pediments are in the archaic tradition; early examples are the "Olive Tree" pediment at Athens[55] and the pediment of the Siphnian Treasury.[56] In both monuments, the wall of a sanctuary is represented.

The Gorgoneion shown in the frontispiece is also tentatively proposed, on the basis of the coins, and of a tradition known to us from the archaic period. Although the coins vary, the circular convex detail in the apex, in most cases, appears to cover the

[54] *Ibid.*, figs. 4–7

[55] Buschor (Ernst Buschor, "Der Ölbaumgiebel," *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXXVII [1922] 6–91) believes that the poros relief represents the Troilos incident, and therefore interprets the structures shown as the fountain-house and wall of the sanctuary.

[56] Professor Lehmann (in a lecture at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) advanced the theory that the wall of a sanctuary was represented on the pediment of the Siphnian Treasury.

raking cornice and to hang slightly below it. This position corresponds exactly to the position of the end of the ridgepole. We know that in the archaic period the end of the ridgepole was often decorated, sometimes by a Gorgoneion. In fact, pedimental decoration had its beginnings in this practice.[57] An archaic pinax from Locri (Pl. XXII) shows the Medusa-head in almost the same position as the circular detail of the coins. Our temple does not, indeed, belong to the archaic period; since, however, this later temple, as we have seen (above, p. 17), adopted other decorative details of the Croesus building, it may have adopted this decoration as well. We have thus, in an early Eastern temple, a type of decoration hitherto known to us only in the West. Mrs. Zankani's theory, that pedimental sculpture originated in the main Greek world, is supported.

A further detail of the superstructure can be reconstructed on the basis of the coins. The friezeless entablature is known in part from preserved fragments: the architrave with triple fascia, the large egg and dart bed-mould, the sculptured high sima. The remaining portions have been restored on the analogy of the temples of Athena at Priene and of Apollo at Didyma. Large square consoles (or dentils) have been introduced as cantilevers to support the projecting corona. Though there is no direct evidence for the existence of these dentils,[58]

[57] Paolo Zankani-Montuoro, "L'origine della decorazione frontonale," *Memorie della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Serie sesta, V. I, fasc. IV, Roma, 1925, pp. 276–344

[58] Lethaby, *Greek Buildings*, pp. 21–23

one of the coins shows an amazing detail: just such a row of dentils (Pl. III, 1). Thus the proposed reconstruction is confirmed. This coin, as far as I know, is unique in the long Ephesian series: its value emphasizes the necessity of collecting every known variety, for the widespread practice of abbreviation makes it likely that a single engraver may include a detail which his successor or predecessor has omitted.

Up to this point we have been concerned with details for which the coins are the only evidence. For the decoration and arrangement of the columns of the façade, we have evidence other than that of the coins. That the coins show the famous ***columnae caelatae*** mentioned by Pliny has long been recognized both by numismatists and by archaeologists. The fragments of sculptured square pedestals and sculptured drums, found on the site and now exhibited in the British Museum, have been identified as Pliny's "sculptured columns." But the arrangement of the drums and the pedestals has been a much debated subject for more than sixty years. Coins have been referred to in this debate: by Lethaby,[59] who did not examine them closely enough, and by Murray,[60] who, using only two of the long series, rejected their evidence, because coins "are seldom reliable as to what they omit, though occasionally reliable as to what they retain."[61]

[59] Lethaby, *The Builder*, 1929, No. 4522, p. 567

[60] Alex S. Murray, "Sculptured Columns of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus," *JRIBA*, III (1895/96) 41–54

[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 46–47. It is noteworthy that in the discussion which followed Murray's paper, one of the members (p. 56) pointed out

Before the discovery of similar pedestals at Sardis, several reconstructions had been proposed.[62] Murray, adopting the arrangement in the British Museum, set the sculptured drums above the square pedestals at the base of the columns of the façade, which he placed in front of some of the steps. Henderson set the sculptured drums above the pedestals as Murray had done, but placed the columns on platform level. Butler, using the evidence at Sardis, removed the drums from the pedestals, placed drums and pedestals on the same level, on the stylobate, and suggested that they all be counted among the thirty-six *columnae caelatae* of Pliny. Butler offers two suggestions as to arrangement: 1) at both ends of the temple, the first two rows carried sculptured drums; the two columns directly behind, on either side of the central axis, carried the square pedestals; 2) at both ends of the temple, the first row as well as six columns of the

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"that he could not see the smallest trace of a square base on the many coins that he had examined to try to make out the construction of the sculptured columns" and that the columns appeared "circular all the way down to the ground." Cf. also the description in the numismatic literature: "octostyle temple of Artemis, showing sculptures on lowest drums of columns and in pediment" (B. M. C. *Ionia*, p. 77, plate XIII, 7; G. F. Hill. *A Handbook of Greek and Roman coins*, London, 1899, p. 269, plate XIII, 9)

[62] Butler (*Anatolian Studies*, pp. 51 ff.) gives a summary of the theories advanced and bibliography. To these should be added: Anderson, Spiers, Dinsmoor, pp. 140–142; Lethaby, *The Builder*, 1929, No. 4522, pp. 566–568; Henderson, *JRIBA*, 3rd ser., 40 (1932/33) 767–771 (Henderson appears to have rejected the proposals of Butler and Dinsmoor); Krischen, *Dörpfeld Festschrift*, pp. 71–77; Krischen, *Die Griechische Stadt*, pp. xix–xx; Grinnell, *Greek Temples*, pp. 5–7

second row, three on each outer side, carried the drums; the two central columns of the second row, and the two directly behind, were decorated with the pedestals. Butler believed the aggregate number of fragments of square pedestals was not sufficient to account for more than four pedestals. Dinsmoor, adopting Butler's arrangement in part, placed the drums on the first two rows of the main west front, a total of sixteen sculptured drums. The sculptured pedestals he placed on the four columns before the pronaos, the five before the opisthodomos, the eight between the walls of the pronaos, and the three *in antis* of the opisthodomos, a total of twenty sculptured pedestals. Lethaby also put the pedestals and drums on platform level, but arranged the former on the columns of the front row of the façade. This scholar questioned the validity of the analogy with Sardis suggested by Butler and Dinsmoor.

Since pedestals alone were found at Sardis—there was no evidence of sculptured drums—the analogy was incomplete, and served at best as guide to the approximate position of the pedestals at Ephesos. The evidence at Sardis indicates that the pedestals were used alone, and that the drums did not stand above them. This was only indirect proof that the drums decorated the facade of the temple at Ephesos, as Butler and Dinsmoor happily assumed. That their assumption is correct is evidenced and confirmed by the coins. These, particularly when magnified (Pl. XX), show that the sculptured drums were not placed above the pedestals, and that only the former were used on the main façade. A

comparison of the detail of the coins with the actual sculptured drum (Pl. XXI) shows how closely the engravers reproduced the actual detail: nowhere on the coin types is a double row of sculpture indicated; only one decorated surface is shown and that is cylindrical in form, following the curved line of the drum. Even in small details, the drums of the coins reproduce the actual drum: on both we see the convex moulding which separates the shaft from the base; the rounded or bulging sculptured surface of the drum; and below the sculptured surface, another convex moulding. These details appear only on some of the largest coins, those which show the temple with eight columns, i. e., as it really was.

We know that a great flight of steps surrounded the temple. The numismatic reference to this flight of steps appears on only a single type (Pl. IV, 3) of the series which shows the temple alone, and on two of the multiple types (Pl. VII, 1, 2). On these coins, a high podium, of approximately seven steps, is represented. This number is not the actual number of steps, but, because it is larger than the canonical three usually shown on the coins, it must be interpreted as a deliberate reference to the great podium that we know existed.

Thus we have seen that coins, systematically studied, have illuminated for us a corner of architectural history hitherto dark; and, sometimes alone, sometimes in combination with other evidence, have resolved for us the mystery of this lost Wonder of the World.

APPENDIX A

Fallacies in the Use of Coins

SAMOS

In spite of the fact that there is an extremely long series of coins representing the temple of Hera at Samos, a series which runs from the time of Domitian to that of Salonina, Schleif[63] used only two types. These were types issued under Gordian III and Salonina (Pl. X, 2, 5); they had been found on the site. Rejecting the commonly accepted indentification of the building, Schleif associated the representations with the small Doric peripteros of the first century A. D. discovered in front of the great sanctuary. On the outermost column to the right, on each of the coins, is represented the famous "lygos" bush. Schleif assumed that the actual bush was housed in a naiskos that stood at the right of the Doric building (Pl. XXIII), and that the representation of the bush on the column of the coins was a conventionalized numismatic reference to the naiskos. Relying on the third century types, Schleif further suggested, as one possibility among others, an arcuated lintel for the Doric peripteros (Pl. XXIV).

[63] Hans Schleif, "Heraion von Samos; Das Vorgelände des Tempels," *Athen Mitt.*, 58 (1933) 218–224; cf. Martin Schede, "Zweiter Vorläufiger Bericht über die von den Berliner Staatlichen Museen unternommenen Ausgrabungen auf Samos," *Abhand. Berl. Akad.*, 3, 1929, p. 11; Ernst Buschor, "Heraion von Samos; Wiederaufbau des Rhoikos-tempels," *Athen. Mitt.*, 55 (1930) 97–98; Ernst Buschor und Hans Schleif, "Heraion von Samos: Der Altarplatz der Frühzeit," *Athen. Mitt.*, 58 (1933) 170–171

There are several flaws in Schleif's theory. In the first place, he did not observe the order of the building shown on the coins. Although the coins he used are too badly worn to show the details of the capital accurately, other specimens in the long series show that the temple represented was Ionic, and had the usual volute-capitals (Pl. X, 3). Schleif's association of the Doric peripteros with the representations must on this account alone be rejected. But, in support of his identification, he suggested that the columns of the great building were finished only as high as the ovolo, and that, instead of the normal Ionic volutes, a provisional abacus, probably of wood, was added—giving the effect of a Doric building, which Schleif assumed the Doric peripteros imitated. This he justifies by the citation of the well-known and troublesome passage of Vitruvius (VII, pref. 12) which described the Heraion as Doric. But the extant remains, as well as the coins, show an Ionic building, and the better solution of the problem is in the emendation generally accepted: *de aede ionica Iunonis est Sami Rhoecus et Theodorus.*[64] Furthermore, to account for the presence of the cult-image in the building he identified as the Doric peripteros, Schleif, utilizing the passage in Strabo (XIV, 637) which describes the great temple as a πιναχοθήκη, asserted that the temple had been abandoned as a shrine in consequence of the collapse

[64] *Vitruvius on Architecture*, edited and translated by Frank Granger, London, New York, 1934 (The Loeb Classical Library), VII, pref. 12; cf. *The Classical Review*, 1924, p. 112

of the roof in the first century and that the statue of Hera had therefore been removed from the great temple to the smaller structure. For this removal there is no evidence whatever, as the coins, throughout the Roman period, show the cult-image in its place in the great temple.

In the second place, Schleif interprets the "lygos" bush as representing the naïskos which stood on the right of the peripteros. The study of other coins makes it clear that a similar bush appeared sometimes on the left (Pl. X, 3), where it could hardly designate a second naiskos. The position of the bush on the third century coins—on which position Schleif bases his reference to the naiskos—is thus seen to have no significance.

Finally, as to the arcuated lintel; the coins Schleif used most certainly do show this form. However, these are third century coins; the first century coins show a classical entablature (Pl. X, 1), and, had he used them, his elevation would necessarily have presented a straight lintel. We can only assume that there was a remodeling of the building between the first and third centuries. In any case, the tradition of the arcuated lintel cannot be traced back in Asia Minor further than the Hadrianic period;[65] had this motif occurred earlier in the case of this temple, the coins would certainly have indicated the fact.

[65] The earliest example is dated in the period of Hadrian "Seconde note sur les fouilles exécutées à Aphrodisias par M. Paul Gaudin, Campagne de 1905, par M. Gustav Mendel," *Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Année 1906*, p. 167, note 1.

SARDIS

A single one of the Sardian temple coins—a coin of Elagabalus (Pl. XII, 1) particularly interested Butler.[66] This coin, Butler suggests, depicts not four temples, but four different aspects of the temple of Artemis: two interior and two exterior. Butler's interpretation is founded, in part, on archaeological evidence. Investigations at the temple proved that there was a double cult chamber in the cella. A great concrete base, directly west of the wall which at an earlier time had divided the cult chamber, held the pedestal of the statue of Faustina the Elder; the head of this statue was found in the sanctuary. The statue, Butler thought, stood back to back with the older cult image of Artemis, the former facing the west, the latter, the east or main entrance. On the basis of these data, Butler argued that the two upper pictures of the Elagabalus coin represented the interior shrines; the lower two, opposite façades of the Artemision. The shrine of Artemis Butler describes as a tetrastyle aedicula with arcuated middle intercolumniation (a form, incidentally, manifestly a late device of the Roman period). The other shrine he calls that of Diva Faustina or Faustina Kore.

There are several objections to Butler's theory. The coin he used is readily recognized as one of a large group of coins,—of all coins, the most characteristic of Asia Minor. These are the coins which display more than one temple: "multiple coins"

[66] *Sardis* II, I, p. 91

(See Appendix C). The temples of multiple coins are, with few exceptions, "neocorate" temples (See Appendix E)—that is, temples for which the citation νεωκόρος had been granted by the Roman Senate to the cities which erected the temples. Such a citation was granted in either of two cases: first, where the temple had been dedicated to the provincial worship of the emperors: "imperial-neocorate"; second, where the temple, dedicated to a local divinity, was so important as to demand this public recognition: "Greek neocorate." Butler's coin exhibits temples well known to us from other Sardian issues (Pls. XI, 1–5; XII, 2), and recognizable upon these other issues as separate and imperial-neocorate temples. The two lower representations are identified for us by their association with the temple of Artemis upon some of these other coins. The same "aedicula" tetrastyle form with the xoanon statue of Artemis appears on these other coins; in a single variety (Pl. XI, 5), the two male cult images of the emperors in the imperial-neocorate temples are clearly shown. These same cult images appear on still another type, where the neocorate temples are shown with a representation of the cult image, without its shrine (Pl. XII, 2).

That the multiple neocorate coins of Sardis represent separate buildings, and not aspects of single buildings, can also be established by a study of the multiple neocorate coins of other cities of the region. At Ephesos, under Elagabalus, coins were issued which displayed the same design (Pl. VII, 3) as the Sardian coin of the same emperor—two buildings

above, two below. That the four buildings of the Ephesian coin represent different sanctuaries is proved by the four different cult statues shown on the facades. One of the sanctuaries is that of Artemis Ephesia; it is her statue which is shown in the temple at the upper left. Her temple, like that of the Sardian Artemis, though both were actually octostyle, appears on the coins as a tetrastyle building, in accordance with the numismatic convention of abbreviation. A comparison of the coin of Sardis with similar neocorate issues of Pergamon and Smyrna further supports our interpretation. On Pergamene coins of Caracalla (Pl. IX, 3) the three temples are lined up, as on the Sardian coin of Caracalla; or they are combined in design (Pl. IX, 4) much like the Elagabalus issue at Sardis—one building above, two below. The identity of the temples on the Pergamene coin as imperial neocorates is established by the names of the emperors actually engraved on the pediments:

ΑΥΓ [οῦστος] ΑΝ [τωνεῖνος] ΤΡ [αιανός]

So also on the Smyrna coins (Pl. XIII, 1, 2): the temples are identified by the inscriptions

ΑΔ [ριανός] ΡΩ [μη] ΤΙ [βέριος]

The shrine inscribed ΡΩ [μη] was one which Caracalla usurped for himself.

We know, from other evidence, that Sardis was νεωκόρος for the temple of Trajan or Hadrian, δὶς νεωκόρος for the temple of Antoninus Pius and τρὶς νεωκόρος for the temple of Elagabalus. The fourth

temple shown in the upper left of Butler's coin is the temple of Artemis; for this temple, Sardis never received the neocorate. The coin Butler used, we have thus established, represents four different sanctuaries, not four aspects of one building.

PERGAMON

Recent studies on Pergamon have referred to coins, though not for architectural details. One Pergamene series represents the temple of Asklepios Soter. The representations on this series have been associated by Deubner[67] with the scanty remains of a Hellenistic building in the Asklepieion, recently excavated outside the town.[68] On the other hand the representations have been associated by Wiegand[69] with the Roman, Pantheon-like building in the same sanctuary. Neither scholar considered the number of columns represented on the coins. The series shows a "minimum" number of six (Pl. VIII, 6). Now, the preliminary map of the Hellenistic remains shows a façade of approximately eight meters. This dimension hardly allows room for the

[67] Otfried Deubner, *Das Asklepieion von Pergamon, Kurze Vorläufge Beschreibung*, Berlin, 1938, pp. 34–35

[68] D. Krencker, "The Two Round Buildings in the Asklepieion," *Arch. Anz.*, 1930, pp. 192–196; Theodor Wiegand, "Die Ausgrabungen von Pergamon," *Deutschtum und Ausland*, 23/24 (1930) 63–64; Wiegand, "Zweiter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Pergamon 1928–1932: Das Askleipieion," *Abhand. Berl. Akad.*, 5, 1932, pp. 1–55; Sven Larsen, "A Pergamon Prototype of the Modern Spa," *Illustrated London News*, 184 (1934) 54–55; Larsen, "A Combined Lourdes-Carlsbad of Antiquity," *Illustrated London News*, 194 (1939) 246–248; Deubner, *Das Asklepieion;* Zschietzschmann, in *RE*, s. v. "Pergamon", 1260–1262

[69] Wiegand, *Abhand. Berl. Akad.*, 5, 1932, pp. 11–16

temple of at least six columns with which Deubner seeks to associate the remains. If the dimensions of the preliminary map have been correctly interpreted, Deubner's association is impossible. Wiegand's Pantheon-shaped building is in no way indicated on the coins. The location of the temple of Asklepios Soter must then await further excavation; its identification will depend in part upon the architectural details of the coins.

APPENDIX B

The Assembling of the Numismatic Evidence

The larger Investigation "Temples in Asia Minor,"[70] on which this monograph is based, limiting itself to the more important mints of the coast provinces, studied coins which represented the following temples:

Aphrodite at Aphrodisias
Apollo Klarios at Kolophon
Artemis at Ephesos
Athena at Ephesos
Domitian at Ephesos
Hadrian at Ephesos
Macrinus-Elagabalus at Ephesos
Zeus Olympios at Ephesos
Temple (?) on the coins of C. Fannius
Herakles at Erythrai
Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia a. M.
Dionysos at Magnesia a. M.

[70] See note 3

Ares at Metropolis in Ionia
Apollo at Didyma near Miletos
Elagabalus at Miletos
Zeus Labraundos at Mylasa
Zeus Osogos at Mylasa
Asklepios Soter at Pergamon
Augustus at Pergamon
Zeus Philios and Trajan at Pergamon
Caracalla-Dionysos Kathegemon at Pergamon
Hera at Samos
Artemis at Sardis
Trajan-Hadrian at Sardis
Antoninus Pius at Sardis
Elagabalus at Sardis
Valerian at Sardis
Dionysos at Sardis
Nemesis at Smyrna
Tiberius at Smyrna
Hadrian at Smyrna
Roma-Caracalla at Smyrna
Tyche at Smyrna
Zeus Akraios at Smyrna
Augusti at Teos
Dionysos at Teos
Caracalla at Tralles
Zeus Larasios at Tralles

The coins have been arranged in series; in each series, the coins have been grouped by the emperors under whom they were issued, and further classified according to the type of representation. Although, in a few instances, a temple may be shown on the

coinage of only a single ruler, in general each appears on the issues of many rulers—sometimes, as in the case of the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, on as many as twenty, covering a span of two hundred years.

In all, by combing the references in all available publications, and by canvassing the cabinets in Europe and America, approximately 1800 varieties, representing about 250 types of the thirty-eight series, were collected and listed. Of the 1800 varieties, about 700 are reproduced in "Temples in Asia Minor." A very small number of these plates appear here, but all were used to formulate the code of numismatic traditions enunciated in the introduction.

Although a very great number of varieties was considered, the catalogues of "Temples in Asia Minor" remain for the moment incomplete. These Eastern coins have not been considered to possess artistic value; dealers have therefore seldom collected them, nor have they been regularly published in trade journals. A great number are to be found in museums, but comparatively few are described in detail in museum publications, and even fewer illustrated. Casts obtained from the cabinets of Paris, Vienna, Glasgow, Copenhagen, Cambridge, and London supplied important types and varieties, compensating in part for this lack. The war, however, interrupted the delivery of casts, and a considerable number of coins still remains unavailable. To make the collection as complete as possible under the circumstances, it was necessary to resort

to old numismatic publications, such as Mionnet, Foy-Vaillant, Eckhel, Pellerin, and Sestini. Here the coins, when illustrated, appear as line drawings, and the problem of the reliability of these drawings arises. Controlled cases, cases where both line drawing and coin in cast or photograph form (Pl. IV, 4, 3) were available, were used to determine in what respects line-drawings could be relied upon in the absence of better evidence. This test showed that, though the modern engraver allowed himself certain liberties in respect to details, his line-drawings were as reliable for the types as a whole as could have been expected of an age without cameras.

APPENDIX C

Multiple Coin Types

There are six main types in which temples appear on Eastern coins:

1) where the facade only is shown (Pl. III, 3)
2) where the temple is seen from the side or in perspective (Pl. VI, 2)
3) where the temple is seen in semi-perspective view: the façade is placed near the top of the coin above a group of people and distance is intended between building and people (Pl. VI, 4)
4) where the temple appears in diminished size in the hand of a divinity (Pl. XII, 4)
5) where the temple appears in miniature as a crown on the head of a divinity (Pl. VI, 3)

6) where the temple is combined either in form 1 or form 2 with one or more other temples (multiple types)

It is in this last type that there is occasionally an inaccuracy in the representation of the order of the temple. A study of the multiple types issued at Ephesos, Miletos,[71] Pergamon, Sardis, Smyrna and Tralles, shows a definite numismatic or engraver's practice: to reduce the temples to similar forms, in certain respects, for the sake of the design.

Thus on some of the Ephesian coins—those which represent the temple of Artemis and three imperial neocorate shrines—all four buildings are shown as Ionic because the Artemision was of that order (Pl. VII, 3). The order of the neocorate temples, therefore, cannot be known with certainty. Elsewhere in this study evidence is introduced to prove that one of them was actually Corinthian (see below p. 58). On the homonoia coin, showing the temple of Artemis of Ephesos with the temple of Asklepios Soter of Pergamon, the order of the temple of Artemis dictated the design (Pl. IX, 1), probably because it was the better known. The multiple types of Pergamon, representing three neocorate temples, show them all as Corinthian (Pl. IX, 2,[72]

[71] No reference to the Miletos "multiple" type is made here because, reported in Mionnet III, p. 172, 301, there is no illustration and thus far I have not been able to find another reference to the type.

[72] The capital on this type is abbreviated and stylized: the convex moulding is exactly like the convex moulding that represents the column-base.

3, 4, 5). We know with certainty that one of them, the Traianeum, was Corinthian; and we have other evidence that another, the Augusteum (see pp. 53 f.) was of the same order. The third, the temple of Caracalla, was Ionic (see below, p. 48); but, following the numismatic practice here described, its order was assimilated to the other two. One non-multiple type of Pergamon also shows the Ionic temple as Corinthian (Pl. VIII, 5). The multiple type appears to have established the style for the non-multiple coin, which was issued at the same time as the multiple-type or later.

On the multiple coins of Sardis (Pls. XI, 1–XII, 2), all the temples are shown as Ionic, the order dictated by the central temple of Artemis, whose Ionic capitals are known with certainty. At Smyrna, numismatic evidence, other than the multiple types, shows that one of the buildings, that dedicated to Tiberius, was Corinthian (Pl. XII, 3); this building appears to have dictated the order for the other buildings (Pls. XII, 5–XIV, 3). At Tralles, where the buildings represented are not preserved, coins (Pl. XIV, 4) other than the multiple type, show that one of the temples, the one dedicated to Zeus Larasios (?), was Ionic; both are shown as of this order on the multiple-types (Pl. XIV, 5).

APPENDIX D

Details "Outside the Norm"

Two architectural details found on some of the Eastern coins pose a problem as to whether they are merely numismatic devices, or whether they represent actual details: the spiral column, seen on the coins representing the temple of Hera at Samos (Pl. X, 1, 4[73]), and the arcuated lintel, found on the representations of nine of the thirty-eight temples studied.

Eastern coins usually represent column shafts as straight and smooth, though a few do show flutings (Pl. I, 1). The spiral column found only on the Samian coins is therefore a detail which may be characterized as "outside the norm,"—that is, a detail which departs from the usual stylized form. Since no actual spiral column from Samos has been preserved, no statement as to the reliability in this respect of the coins can be made. The fact, however, that this series is the sole instance of the appearance of spiral columns among the great number of coins considered, is presumptive proof that the choice of this form was no mere engraver's whim or numismatic convention, and that it must therefore have had some special significance as a representation of an actual detail.

A more important detail "outside the norm" is the arcuated lintel.[74] There would be reason to

[73] Only some of the coins show the spiral column. The earliest and latest examples are given in the plates.

[74] The use and origin of the arcuated lintel in the East have been investigated recently (Donald F. Brown, "The Arcuated Lintel

consider this detail a numismatic convention, if it appeared on all, or nearly all, the coin-series. Such, however, is not the case. Of the thirty-eight temples considered, only nine are shown on the coins with arcuated entablature. Because so little of the entablature of temples has been preserved, it is impossible in this respect as well to establish the reliability of the coins, but in none of these nine cases is there any evidence that the temples did not actually have such a lintel at the time indicated by the coins. Indeed, there is at least circumstantial evidence for the existence of the arcuated lintel in the fact that in several cases the building had just been completed at the time the coins were issued, or that it had been rebuilt just before it appears on the coins with the arcuated lintel. For example, the Artemision at Sardis is shown with a classical façade at the time of Hadrian (Pl. X, 6). The archaeological evidence indicates that the temple was restored on a grand scale in the late second and early third centuries.[75] Though the exact date and extent of the repairs in the Roman period are not known,[76] the coins indicate that at least the arcuated lintel had been introduced by the time of Caracalla (Pl. XI, 4).

and its Symbolic Interpretation in Late Antique Art," *AJA*, 46 [1942] 389–399). The earliest temple arch is that of Dushara at Si in Syria, dated in the Augustan period (*Ibid*., p. 391, note 9). The large Corinthian temple of Termessus of the Hadrianic period is the earliest preserved temple-arch in Asia Minor (Karl Graf Lanckorónski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, unter Mitwerkung von G. Niemann und E. Petersen, II, *Pisidien*, Vienna, 1892, fig. 38)

[75] *Sardis*, II, I, p. 105

[76] *Ibid*., p. 12

Was the engraver of the coins following a mere whim or fad in showing the arcuated lintel? On the multiple third century coins of Sardis (Pl. XI, 4, 5), the temple of Artemis is shown with arcuated lintel, but the neocorate temples on either side of it are shown on the same coins with classical façades. The multiple coins of Ephesos (Pl. VII, 1), on the other hand, show, in arrangement similar to that of the Sardian multiple coins, the Ephesian Artemision with classical façade; no engraver added an arch to any temple on these coins "to follow a fashion." Nor do the multiple coin-types of Pergamon follow any such vogue (Pl. IX, 3). The central temple shown on these coins is the so-called Ionian temple;[77] it had a straight entablature and is so shown. We know that the Artemision in Ephesos had a classical entablature, and it too is so shown. We do not have the whole entablature of the Sardian Artemision[78] but, as we have shown, the arch may well have been introduced after the time of Hadrian when the temple was remodeled.

The largest and most prolific mint of the East was at Ephesos; next in importance to it was the mint of Pergamon. If the engravers were only following a style or vogue in showing an arcuated lintel, such a style would have originated, we might assume, at one or the other of these mints. Yet not

[77] *Altertümer von Pergamon* IV, *Die Theater-Terrasse* von Richard Bohn, Berlin, 1896, pp. 41–68; Ussing, *Pergamos*, pp. 80–82; Collignon, *Pergame*, pp. 178–185; *Altertümer von Pergamon* I², pp. 284–285; Massow, *Führer durch das Pergamonmuseum*, pp. 106–107; Zschietzschmann, in *RE*, s. v. "Pergamon," 1260

[78] *Sardis* II, I, p. 92

a single coin issued there shows the arcuated lintel. If the engravers were influenced by fashion in their designs, it is difficult to see why the city of Metropolis, which was so closely associated with Ephesos,[79] did introduce an arcuated form on its coins, while Ephesos itself consistently refrained from doing so. Nor were the engravers of Metropolis following a fashion of near-by Smyrna; the Smyrnaian coins do not display the device either on their multiple neocorate coins (Pls. XII, 5–XIV, 3), or on any other of the many issues of that city. We may conclude, therefore, that the temple of Metropolis actually had an arch, which the engravers were reproducing.

Unfortunately, there is no temple-arch preserved which appears on coins. But we do have an arch in the great entrance gate of the sanctuary at Baalbek which appears on a well-known coin (Pl. XXV, b). Here, the coin shows an arcuated lintel, and we know from archaeological evidence that there actually was such a lintel.[80] The reconstruction (Pl. XXV, a) was primarily based on the fact that there is an arch preserved in the corresponding position on the interior of the court. It is true, to be sure, that the investigators did use the coin to cofirm their reconstruction, but other details of the coins—the number of the columns, the form of the towers—bear witness to the extraordinary reliability of the Baalbek coin.[81]

[79] Aelian, *Hist. Nat.* XVI, 38: ἡ Μετρόπολις ἡ 'Εφέσια
[80] *Baalbek*, I, p. 104
[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 103–109

It is especially in cases like these of the arcuated lintel and the spiral column—cases in which we have very little other evidence—that the testimony of the coins demands to be heard.

APPENDIX E

The So-called Serapeion

The use of numismatic evidence to identify ancient buildings is not new; the contribution of the coins to the history of architecture in this respect has long been recognized. This section of our work offers such an identification: it seeks to prove by a marshaling of numismatic evidence that the so-called Serapeion at Ephesos[82] was in fact a temple built in honor of Hadrian and dedicated to the provincial worship of the emperors. The numismatic evidence, however, upon which I rely, is highly complicated, consisting as it does of the multiple coin-types of several important cities.

We have seen that certain cities issued coins showing several temples. We have called these "multiple" coins. We have seen, too, that in most cases the multiple coins represent temples for which the city had received the citation: νεωκόρος. These temples we have called "neocorate." A city might receive the necocorate citation because one of its temples was dedicated to the provincial worship of the emperors: "imperial neocorate"; or for an especially famous temple dedicated to the main divinity of the city: "Greek neocorate."

[82] See note 25

"Multiple neocorate" coin-types were issued at Ephesos, Pergamon, Sardis and Smyrna.[83] That these four series represent neocorate temples can be established by reference to the tradition in each city. Though there are some disturbing discrepancies in the evidence, the dates and names of the temples associated with each citation of the city can be stated with more or less definiteness.

Thus the neocorate tradition at Ephesos,[84] uncertain in the early part of the first century, shows that the city became δὶς νεωκόρος at the time of Domitian, when a large temple was built and dedicated to the provincial worship of the emperor. There is no doubt of this, for the temple has been found, and the inscriptions discovered on the site confirm the dedication.[85] This sanctuary appears on all the multiple types of Ephesos as one of two identical buildings (Pls. VI, 5–VII, 3). Between the time of Domitian and that of Hadrian, the city is referred to as νεωκόρος but, under the latter emperor, it again becomes δὶς νεωκόρος, and for the first time, the inscriptions mention more than one temple dedicated

[83] They were issued by other cities of Asia Minor as well, cf. Krister Hanell, in *RE*, s. v. "neokoroi" 2426–2427 and particularly Behrendt Pick, "Die Tempeltragenden Gottheiten und die Darstellung der Neokorie auf den Münzen," *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, VII (1904) 1–41, where neocorate coins other than multiple types are also discussed.

[84] Picard, *Ephèse et Claros*, p. 663, note 1; Josef Keil, "Die erste Kaiserneokorie von Ephesos," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 52 (1919) 115–120; Hanell, in *RE*, s. v. "neokoroi" 2425; T. R. S. Broughton, *Roman Asia* (An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, Vol. IV), Baltimore, 1938, pp. 709, 742

[85] See note 26

to the cult of the emperors: ναοὶ τῶν Σεβαστῶν. Thus, a new imperial temple in honor of Hadrian must have earned a second neocorate for the city. This sanctuary appears as the second of the identical buildings on the coins. No building has as yet been identified as the temple of Hadrian represented on the coins. At the time of Caracalla, Ephesos became τρὶς νεωκόρος; but coins and inscriptions indicate that this third citation is a Greek neocorate, claimed or granted for the great sanctuary of Artemis. The coins issued under Septimius Severus (Pl. VII, 1) and Caracalla[86] show the temples of Domitian and Hadrian combined with that of the great goddess. A fourth citation was granted for a temple dedicated to Macrinus-Elagabalus, and the coins issued during the rule of Elagabalus show the new building always with the Artemision, either flanked by the first two imperial neocorate temples (Pl. VII, 2), or in the upper part of the coin, with the imperial neocorate temples below (Pl. VII, 3). No building is known, however, which can be identified as this temple of Macrinus-Elagabalus.

The existence of three temples dedicated to the provincial worship of the Augusti at Pergamon has long since been established.[87] The first neocorate was granted for the temple of Augustus, but not

[86] Mionnet III, p. 107, 347

[87] Behrendt Pick, "Die Neokorie-Tempel von Pergamon und der Asklepios des Phyromachos," *Festschrift Walther Judeich, zum 70 Geburtstag*, Weimar, 1929, pp. 28–29; Hanell, in *RE*, s. v. "neokoroi," 2426; Hugo Hebding, "Ῥουφίνιον ἄλσος," *Philologus, Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum*, 88 (1933) 101; Broughton, *Roman Asia*, pp. 709, 742

even the site of this building has been established, in spite of considerable conjecture. A second neocorate, for a temple of Trajan, and a third, for a temple of Caracalla, are confirmed, not only by the numismatic and epigraphical evidence, but also by the existence of the buildings themselves: the Traianeum,[88] dedicated to the worship of Zeus Philios and Trajan, and the so-called Ionian temple,[89] dedicated to Caracalla-Dionysos Kathegemon. The multiple types of Pergamon show the Augusteum as one of two identical temples; the Traianeum is the other. On some coins, these two temples are pictured alone (Pl. IX, 2); on others, they are shown with the temple of Caracalla (Pl. IX, 3–5). We are sure of these identifications: the names of the deified emperors are inscribed on the buildings:

ΑΥΓ[οῦστος] ΑΝ[τωνεῖνος] ΤΡ[αιανός]

The Augusteum and Traianeum are both represented as hexastyle buildings, seen from the same angle, and similar in detail. We know from the remains that the Traianeum was a Corinthian hexastyle. The appearance of the temple of Augustus is, however, unknown except for representations on coins. One of the finest coins issued in the East, the cistophoric coin minted at Ephesos, but representing the temple of Augustus at Pergamon,[90] (Pl. VI, 1),

[88] See note 6 [89] See note 77

[90] Pick, *Festschrift Walther Judeich*, p. 29; Mattingly's (B. M. C. *Roman Empire* I, p. cxxv) assumption that the temple represented was at Ephesos is not substantiated by the evidence and not generally accepted.

shows that sanctuary also as a hexastyle Corinthian building. Thus we see that the two temples were very much alike, and they were so represented by the engraver.

At Sardis the problem of the neocorate tradition[91] is not completely resolved. No temple other than the Artemision has been excavated, but such evidence as does exist shows that the first imperial temple was built for the worship of Trajan or Hadrian; the second, for Antoninus Pius. A third neocorate was granted at the time of Elagabalus, and a fourth at the time of the emperor Valerian. The first two temples appear as identical buildings, sometimes alone (Pls. XI, 1–3; XII, 2), sometimes with the Artemision (Pl. XI, 4, 5), or with both the temple of Elagabalus and the Artemision (Pl. XII, 1), in the same arrangement as is employed on the neocorate coins of Ephesos and Pergamon. The numismatic evidence shows that the first and second neocorate temples were large octostyles and very similar in design (Pl. XII, 1).

At Smyrna, the numismatic evidence takes on additional importance, because little excavation has been undertaken, and we are dependent on ancient literary sources and the reports of early travelers.

[91] Victor Chapot, *La province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie, depuis des origines jusqu'à la fin du Haut-Empire*, Paris, 1904 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences, Historiques et Philologiques, Fasc. 150) pp. 442, 452; *Sardis* II, I, pp. 104–105; *Sardis* VII, I, *The Inscriptions* by W. H. Buckler and David M. Robinson, 1932, Nos. 47, 58; Hanell, in *RE*, s. v. "neokoroi," 2426; Broughton, *Roman Asia*, p. 742

Multiple types, illustrating the neocorate tradition,[92] show buildings which carry the names (Pl. XIII, 1, 2):

ΑΔ[ριανός] ΡΩ[μη] ΤΙ[βέριος]

Thus the first neocorate was conferred for a temple honoring Tiberius; the second, for one honoring Hadrian. The shrine inscribed ΡΩ [μη] was one which Caracalla usurped for himself (just as he usurped the so-called Ionian temple at Pergamon, sacred up to that time to Dionysos Kathegemon) making Smyrna τρὶς νεωκόρος. The first and second imperial neocorate temples are again shown as identical buildings (Pls. XII, 5–XIV, 3). None of the temples of Smyrna is known apart from the numismatic evidence; the coins however, do indicate that the first two imperial neocorate temples were similar in style and size.

In the design of the multiple types, as we have seen, there is a numismatic convention to make the several representations of temples on a single coin conform to one another for the sake of a balanced effect. The result is that the representations are stylized; but the stylization is rarely complete, and there are frequent variations in details. Could the tradition of representing the first and second imperial neocorate temples as identical in form, and of arranging them symmetrically on the coins, have had its origin in considerations other than those of

[92] Hanell, in *RE*, s. v. "neokoroi," 2426; Broughton, *Roman Asia*, p. 742; Cecil John Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna, A History of the City from the Earliest Times to 324 A. D.*, passim: see index s. v. "Neokorates of Smyrna" on page 429

design? Is it not likely that the second temple, built for the purpose of obtaining a second neocorate, duplicated the design of the first, so that it was represented as identical by the engravers? This was the theory suggested by Pick;[93] it seems to be borne out in the cases we have cited.

The coins of Ephesos, when their evidence is collated with that of other multiple types, also offer opportunity for a partial test. Let us see whether the temple of Hadrian shown on the multiple coins of Ephesos as its second neocorate temple, can be identified with the actual so-called Serapeion.[94] There were no inscriptions or other finds to identify the building with certainty, but it is dated in the same period as the temple of Hadrian, just before the middle of the second century, and near the site, a life-sized head, reported to resemble the head of Augustus, was found.[95]

The coins show that the temple of Hadrian had a pediment pierced by openings (Pl. VII, 2). The first and third imperial neocorate temples—as well as the Artemision—are also shown on these coins, and a single rectangle appears in each tympanum. But the so-called Serapeion is known to have had

[93] Pick, *Festschrift Walther Judeich*, pp. 33–34

[94] See note 25

[95] Heberdey, *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, XVIII (1915) Beibl., p. 87. The implications of this find were not considered because the relationship of the head to the building was deemed uncertain. Keil (see note 25) tentatively identified the temple as a Serapeion because of two statue-bases that had been found near the building. These bases Keil believed belonged to the temple; they carried inscriptions which pointed to the cult of Serapis at the time of Caracalla.

three openings. This apparent discrepancy in the identification can easily be explained away by reference to the numismatic tradition of abbreviation: in the pediments of all three imperial neocorate temples—as well as in that of the Artemision—the single rectangle has reference to three openings.

The reader may object that the insertion of the windows in all the buildings means nothing more than that the engraver sought to make his design symmetrical. One type represents the Artemision, which we now know to have had openings in the pediment, without its windows (Pl. VII, 3). The engraver, we see, in representing the openings in his pictures of the other three temples did not for the sake of conformity of design show openings as well in the Artemision. The rectangles shown on the imperial temples must then represent the actual design, the single rectangle serving as abbreviation for three. The similarity in the representations is not then merely a matter of design. Rather, it is more likely that the great imperial buildings actually copied the pediment of the ancient and more important sanctuary.[96] Such imitation was particularly

[96] As an example of the influence of the temple of Artemis on later architecture, I should like to point to the Arkadiané (*Forschungen in Ephesos* I, pp. 132–140). The arrangement of the lower part of the free-standing columns (Pl. XXVI) is so like that of the temple-columns that the latter must have been its inspiration. Although the Artemision was damaged severely in 263 A.D., it is known to have been used in the third and fourth centuries (for the later history of the temple, see Picard, *Ephèse et Claros*, p. 674, note 5). It is believed that thereafter the temple served as a quarry for the Church of St. John which Justinian had ordered built. The columns of the Arkadiané are dated in this period; the temple of

likely if the openings were used for static purposes, for the huge octostyles of the Roman period presented the same problem of construction to the architect as the earlier sanctuary.

Now, the first neocorate temple—that of Domitian—was also actually a large octostyle building; it is shown on the coins as identical with the shrine of Hadrian. Some of the coins show both temples as distyle, i. e., in abbreviated form, but, as we have seen, the Artemision, also octostyle, is shown in the same way (Pl. VII, 2). The so-called Serapeion and the temple of Domitian differ in some respects: the former is prostyle, the latter peripteral; the coins represent the temple of Domitian and the temple of Hadrian as peripteral. They also show both as Ionic; we know that the so-called Serapeion was Corinthian, and, while we have no evidence for the order of the temple of Domitian, is not the likelihood great that, as a large Roman temple of the first century, it was also Corinthian? The two neocorate temples are made to appear as Ionic, whether or not they were Ionic, to conform to the order of the Artemision, and their design is made to appear identical, in accordance with the numismatic tradition of multiple coins.

Artemis may still have been upright when they were put up in the street. However, even in the absence of proof that the temple-columns were extant in the sixth century, their sculptured drums must have been well-known enough to have suggested the form of this later monument. Note also the column bases of the temple of Rome and Augustus at Mylasa (Plate XXVIII) which are reminiscent of the Ephesian type.

The so-called Serapeion is thus seen to have been very like the temple of Domitian; the temple of Hadrian is represented on the coins as identical with the temple of Domitian; may we not conclude, therefore, that the temple which had been tentatively called the Serapeion, was actually the temple of Hadrian shown on the coins as the second neocorate temple?

INDEX TO

PLATE I

	Mint	Temple	Ruler
1.	Aphrodisias	Aphrodite	Commodus
2.	Ephesos	Artemis	Claudius
3.	Ephesos	Artemis	Claudius
4.	Ephesos	Artemis	Vespasian
5.	Ephesos	Artemis	Hadrian
6.	Ephesos	Artemis	Hadrian

PLATE II

	Mint	Temple	Ruler
1.	Ephesos	Artemis	Hadrian
2.	Ephesos	Artemis	Hadrian
3.	Ephesos	Artemis	Hadrian
4.	Ephesos	Artemis	Hadrian
5.	Ephesos	Artemis	Antoninus Pius

PLATE III

	Mint	Temple	Ruler
1.	Ephesos (enlarged)	Artemis	Antoninus Pius
2.	Ephesos	Artemis	Antoninus Pius
3.	Ephesos	Artemis	Marcus Aurelius
4.	Ephesos	Artemis	Faustina the Younger
5.	Ephesos	Artemis	Septimius Severus
6.	Ephesos	Artemis	Caracalla

PLATE IV

	Mint	Temple	Ruler
1.	Ephesos	Artemis	Caracalla
2.	Ephesos	Artemis	Elagabalus
3.	Ephesos	Artemis	Elagabalus
4.	Ephesos	Artemis	Elagabalus

HE PLATES

Collection	Reference
N. S. (Newell)	
N. S. (Newell)	cf. B. M. C. *Roman Empire*, I, p. 197, 229, pl. 34.1
nri Seyrig	cf. B. M. C. *Roman Empire*, I, p. 197, 229, pl. 34.1
penhagen	cf. *Rev. Suisse*, 1905, p. 224, 12
se A. Yockers	cf. B. M. C. *Roman Empire*, III, p. 394, 1093, pl. 75.3
N. S. (Newell)	cf. *Loc. cit.*

Collection	Reference
	Hess Sale, May 1935, pl. 15, 1121
nna	cf. B. M. C. *Ionia*, p. 77, 229
nna	*Num. Chron.*, 1936, pl. II, 9
is	Hill, *Handbook*, pl. XIII, 9
nna	cf. Leake, *Numismata Suppl.*, p. 50

Collection	Reference
enhagen	cf. Grose III, p. 121, 8107, pl. 280, 5
ına	cf. Grose III, p. 121, 8107, pl. 280, 5
ına	cf. Mionnet III, p. 102, 311
V. S. (Newell)	
ına	cf. Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*, p. 31
ına	cf. B. M. C. *Ionia*, p. 86, 275

Collection	Reference
na	cf. *Abhand. Gött. Akad.*, ser. 3, no. 12, 1935, pl. L 16 (116)
I. S. (Newell)	cf. B. M. C. *Ionia*, p. 92, 307
na	cf. *Abhand. Gött. Akad.*, ser. 3, no. 12, 1935, pl. L 14 (122)
	Numismata ex Cimeliarchio Ludovici XIV, Eleutheropoli, 1704, pl. 19

PLATE V

	Mint	Temple	Ruler
1.	Ephesos	Artemis	Alexander Severus
2.	Ephesos	Artemis	Alexander Severus
3.	Ephesos	Artemis	Maximinus
4.	Ephesos	Artemis	Gordian III
5.	Ephesos	Artemis	Gordian III
6.	Ephesos	Artemis	Trajan Decius
7.	Ephesos	Artemis	Trajan Decius
8.	Ephesos	Artemis	Valerian

PLATE VI

	Mint	Temple	Ruler
1.	Ephesos	Augustus at Pergamon	Augustus
2.	Ephesos	Artemis (?)	Nero
3.	Ephesos	Artemis	Hadrian
4.	Ephesos	Macrinus-Elagabalus	Macrinus
5.	Ephesos	Domitian and Hadrian	Hadrian
6.	Ephesos	Domitian and Hadrian	Antoninus Pius
7.	Ephesos	Artemis, Domitian and Hadrian	Antoninus Pius

PLATE VII

	Mint	Temple	Ruler
1.	Ephesos	Artemis, Domitian and Hadrian	Septimius Severus
2.	Ephesos	Artemis, Domitian, Hadrian and Macrinus-Elagabalus	Elagabalus
3.	Ephesos	Artemis, Domitian, Hadrian and Macrinus-Elagabalus	Elagabalus
4.	Magnesia	Artemis Leukophryene	Nero

Collection	Reference
A. N. S. (Newell)	cf. B. M. C. *Ionia*, p. 95, 320
Univ. of Cal. (Hearst)	cf. Mionnet, *Suppl.*, VI, p. 177, 643
Copenhagen	cf. *Ibid.*, p. 181, 667
A. N. S. (Newell)	cf. *Ibid.*, p. 182, 675
Cambridge (Lewis)	cf. *Abhand. Gött. Akad.*, ser. 3, no. 12, 1935, pl. L 17 (122)
Copenhagen	cf. MacDonald, *Hunterian Coll.*, II, p. 336, 67
Cambridge (Lewis)	
Vienna	cf. *Abhand. Gött. Akad.*, ser. 3, no. 12, 1935, pl. L 15 (115)

Collection	Reference
A. N. S. (Newell)	cf. B. M. C. *Roman Empire*, I, p. 114, 705, pl. 17, 13
Vienna	cf. Mionnet III, p. 93, 253
Berlin	*Rev. Et. Anc.*, 40 (1938) pl. III, 1
Paris	*Rev. Num.*, 1891, pl. IV, 3
Paris	*Rev. Et. Anc.*, 40 (1938) pl. III, 3
British Museum	*Ibid.*, pl. III, 4
Paris	*Ibid.*, pl. III, 5

Collection	Reference
Vienna	cf. B. M. C. *Ionia*, p. 83, 261
Copenhagen	cf. *Ibid.*, p. 92, 306
British Museum	*Ibid.*, p. 91, 305, pl. XIV, 6
Vienna	cf. *Ibid.*, p. 164, 52

PLATE VII—*Continued*

	Mint	Temple	Ruler
5.	Magnesia	Artemis Leuko-phryene	Trajan
6.	Magnesia	Artemis Leuko-phryene	Hadrian
7.	Magnesia	Artemis Leuko-phryene	Hadrian

PLATE VIII

	Mint	Temple	Ruler
1.	Magnesia	Artemis Leuko-phryene	Hadrian
2.	Magnesia	Artemis Leuko-phryene	Hadrian
3.	Magnesia	Artemis Leuko-phryene	Caracalla
4.	Pergamon	Trajan	Trajan
5.	Pergamon	Caracalla	Caracalla
6.	Pergamon	Asklepios Soter	Gallienus

PLATE IX

	Mint	Temple	Ruler
1.	Pergamon	Asklepios Soter and Artemis at Ephesos	Commodus
2.	Pergamon	Augustus and Trajan	Commodus
3.	Pergamon	Augustus, Trajan and Caracalla	Caracalla
4.	Pergamon	Augustus, Trajan and Caracalla	Caracalla
5.	Pergamon	Augustus, Trajan and Caracalla	Severus Alexander

COLLECTION	REFERENCE
Copenhagen	cf. Mionnet, *Suppl.*, VI, p. 237, 1037
A. N. S. (Newell)	cf. *Ibid.*, p. 238, 1038
Copenhagen	cf. *Ibid.*, p. 238, 1038

COLLECTION	REFERENCE
Vienna	cf. *Ibid.*, p. 238, 1038
Copenhagen	cf. *Ibid.*, p. 238, 1038
Univ. of Cal. (Hearst)	cf. *Zapiski Num. Sect. of Russian Arch. Soc.*, 1909, vol. I, fasc. II–III, p. 34, pl. VI, 69
Vienna	cf. B. M. C. *Mysia*, p. 142, 263, pl. XXVIII, 10
Munich	von Fritze, *Abhand. Berl. Akad.*, 1910, pl. VIII, 7
Paris	von Fritze, *Nomisma* II, 1908, pl. III, 5

COLLECTION	REFERENCE
British Museum	B. M. C. *Mysia*, p. 164, 353, pl. XXXIII, 3
Univ. of Cal. (Hearst)	cf. *Ibid.*, p. 151, 308, pl. XXX, 5
A. N. S. (Newell)	cf. von Fritze, *Abhand. Berlin Akad.*, 1910 pl. VIII, 19
A. N. S. (Newell)	cf. B. M. C. *Mysia*, p. 156, 327, pl. XXXII, 1
Copenhagen	cf. *Ibid.*, p. 159, 336

PLATE X

	Mint	Temple	Ruler
1.	Samos	Hera	Domitian
2.	Samos	Hera	Gordian III
3.	Samos	Hera	Valerian
4.	Samos	Hera	Gallienus
5.	Samos	Hera	Salonina
6.	Sardis	Artemis	Hadrian

PLATE XI

	Mint	Temple	Ruler
1.	Sardis	Trajan-Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius	Julia Domna
2.	Sardis	Trajan-Hadrian and Antoninus Pius	Septimius Severus
3.	Sardis	Trajan-Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius	Caracalla
4.	Sardis	Artemis, Trajan-Hadrian and Antoninus Pius	Caracalla
5.	Sardis	Artemis, Trajan-Hadrian and Antoninus Pius	Caracalla

PLATE XII

	Mint	Temple	Ruler
1.	Sardis	Artemis, Trajan-Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Elagabalus	Elagabalus
2.	Sardis	Trajan-Hadrian and Antoninus Pius	Maximinus
3.	Smyrna	Tiberius	Livia and Senate
4.	Smyrna	(?)	Gallienus

Collection	Reference
British Museum	*Num. Chron.*, 1882, pl. XII, 7
	Abhand. Berl. Akad., 3, 1929, p. 11, abb. 9
Vienna	cf. B. M. C. *Ionia*, p. 392, 369
Vienna	cf. *Ibid.*, p. 394, 379
	Abhand. Berl. Akad., 3, 1929, p. 11, abb. 9
Munich	*Num. Chron.*, 1936, pl. I, 10

Collection	Reference
Paris	cf. Mionnet, IV, p. 128, 730
Paris	cf. *Ibid.*, p. 128, 727
Cambridge (Fitzwilliam)	cf. Leake, *Suppl.*, p. 86
Copenhagen	cf. Mionnet, *Suppl.*, VII, p 426, 503
	Bell, *Sardis*, vol. XI, p. 32, 300, pl. I, 300

Collection	Reference
British Museum	B. M. C. *Lydia*, p. 265, 171, pl. XXVII, 10
Paris	cf. Mionnet, IV, p. 135, 773
Vienna	cf. B. M. C. *Ionia*, p. 268, 267, pl. XXVIII, 8
A. N. S. (Newell)	cf. *Ibid.*, p. 299, 469

PLATE XII—*Continued*

	Mint	Temple	Ruler
5.	Smyrna	Tiberius, Hadrian and Roma-Caracalla	Caracalla
6.	Smyrna	Tiberius, Hadrian and Roma-Caracalla	Caracalla

PLATE XIII

	Mint	Temple	Ruler
1.	Smyrna	Tiberius, Hadrian and Roma-Caracalla	Caracalla
2.	Smyrna	Tiberius, Hadrian and Roma-Caracalla	Caracalla
3.	Smyrna	Tiberius, Hadrian and Roma-Caracalla	Elagabalus
4.	Smyrna	Tiberius, Hadrian and Roma-Caracalla	Severus Alexander

PLATE XIV

	Mint	Temple	Ruler
1.	Smyrna	Tiberius, Hadrian and Roma-Caracalla	Maximinus
2.	Smyrna	Tiberius, Hadrian and Roma-Caracalla	Gordian
3.	Smyrna	Tiberius, Hadrian and Roma-Caracalla	Gallienus
4.	Tralles	Zeus Larasios (?)	Commodus
5.	Tralles	Caracalla and Zeus Larasios (?)	Caracalla

Collection	Reference
Copenhagen	cf. *Ibid.*, p. 290, 415
	Egger Sale, XLVI, May 1914, pl. XVII, 1051

Collection	Reference
A. N. S. (Newell)	cf. B. M. C. *Ionia*, p. 288, 403
	Hirsch Sale, XIII, May 1905, pl. XLII, 3800
A. N. S. (Newell)	cf. *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, VII (1904) 22 note 29
Cambridge (McClean)	Grose III, p. 155, 8314, pl. 289.1

Collection	Reference
Paris	*Rev. Num.*, 1901, p. 440–441, 55, pl. IX, 15
	Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, p. 229, 3, pl. XII, 7
A. N. S. (Newell)	cf. B. M. C. *Ionia*, p. 299, 470
Paris	cf. *Rev. Num.*, 1898, p. 381, 5439
A. N. S. (Newell)	cf. Mionnet, *Suppl.*, VII, p. 474, 733

PLATE XV

Temple of Artemis Leukphryene at Magnesia a. M. (Krischen, *Die Griechische Stadt*, pl. 39)

PLATE XVI

"Temple of Claudius" or "Serapeion" at Ephesos (Keil, *Ephesos, Führer*, fig. 45)

PLATE XVII

a) Sanctuary of Zeus Heliopolis at Baalbek (*Baalbek* I, pl. 16)
b) Coin of Baalbek (Heliopolis) showing temple of Zeus Heliopolis, issued under Septimius Severus (Winnefeld, *Rheinishes Museum für Philologie*. 69 (1914), pl. opp. page 144, 3

PLATE XVIII

Gable end of a tomb from Xanthos (Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, Vol. I, Part 1, fig. 180)

PLATE XIX

Roman relief representing the pediment of the temple of Quirinus (Strong, *La Scultura Romana*, fig. 48)

PLATE XX

Coin of Ephesos (enlarged), issued under Hadrian (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam collection: cf. Leake, *Numismata*, p. 56)

PLATE XXI

Fragments of temple of Artemis at Ephesos (Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, Vol. II, pl. XXIII)

PLATE XXII

Votive relief from Locri (Paolo Zancani Montuoro, "Tabella fittile Locrese con scena del culto," *Rivista del R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, Anno VII, Fasc. I–III, Rome, 1940, Plate I)

PLATE XXIII

Area between temple of Hera and its altar at Samos, 1st century A. D. (Schleif, *Athen. Mitt.*, 58 (1933) Beilage LIX)

PLATE XXIV

Suggested elevations of the Roman peripteros at Samos, 1st century A. D., in the area in front of the temple of Hera (*Ibid.*, p. 223, abb. 7)

PLATE XXV

a) Entrance portico at Baalbek (*Baalbek* I, pl. 4)
b) Coin of Baalbek (Heliopolis) showing entrance portico, issued under Philip I (British Museum collection: B. M. C. *Galatia*, p. 292, 15, pl. XXXVI, 6)

PLATE XXVI

The Arkadiané at Ephesos (*Forschungen in Ephesos*, I, fig. 59)

PLATE XXVII

Cinerary urn of terra-cotta in the form of a house, found in Central Italy, dated eighth or seventh century B. C. (*Collection Julien Gréau, Catalogue des terres cuites grecques, vases peints et marbres antiques* [vente . . . hôtel Drouot, 16, Mai, 1891], Paris, 1891, p. 11, no. 59, pl. I; for the date, see a similar urn of bronze: Giulio Quirino Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca*, Milan, 1935, pl. IV, 4)

PLATE XXVIII

Temple of Rome and Augustus at Mylasa (Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries*, London, 1743–45, Vol. 2, Part 2, Pl. LV)

PLATES

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TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS PLATE V

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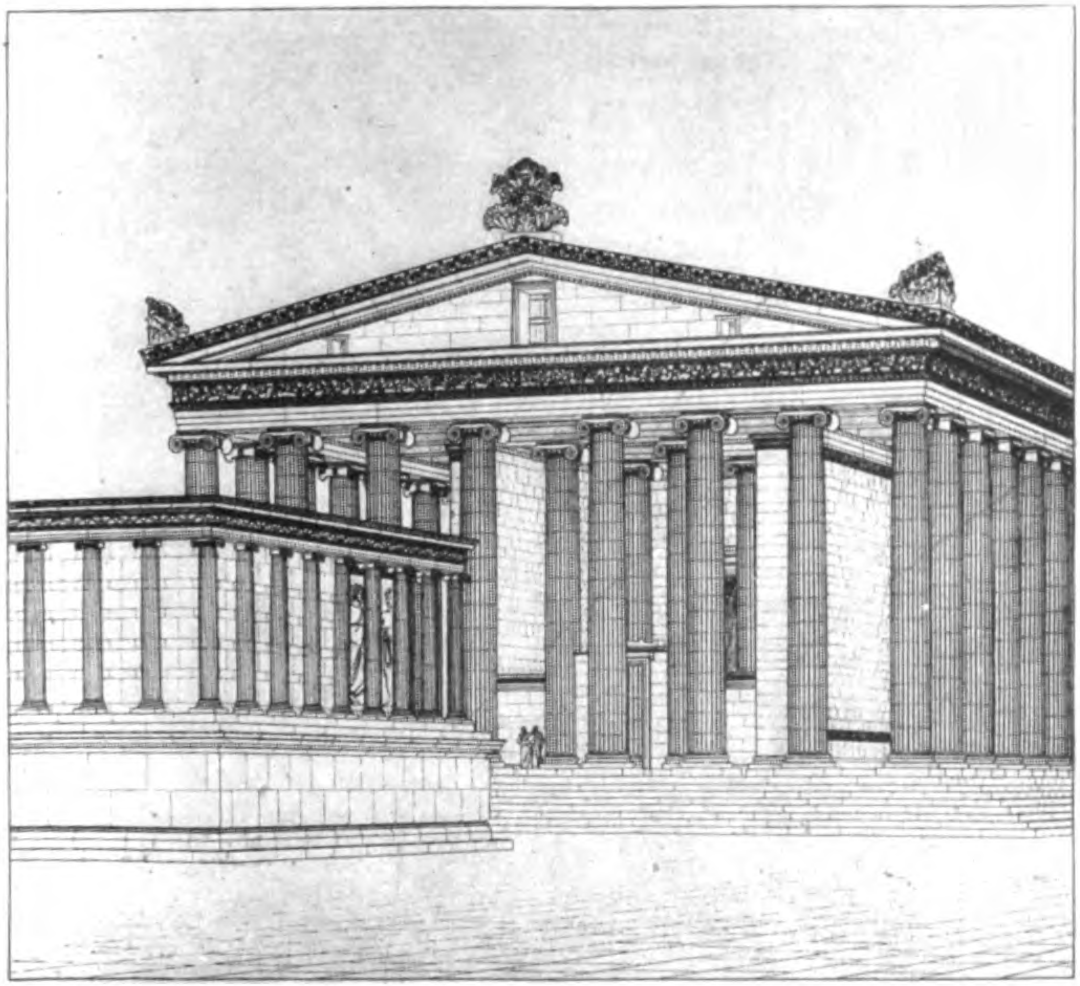
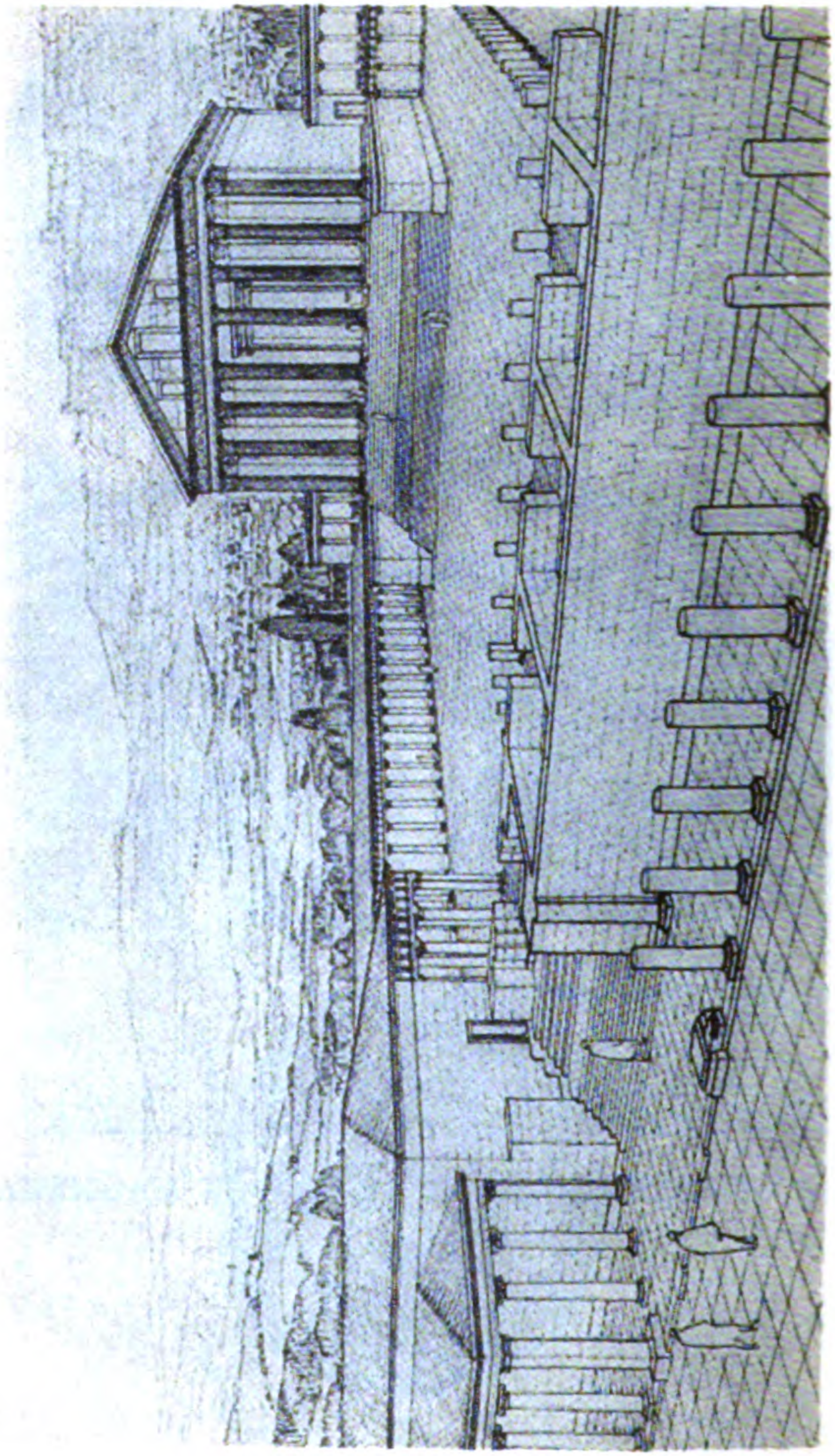
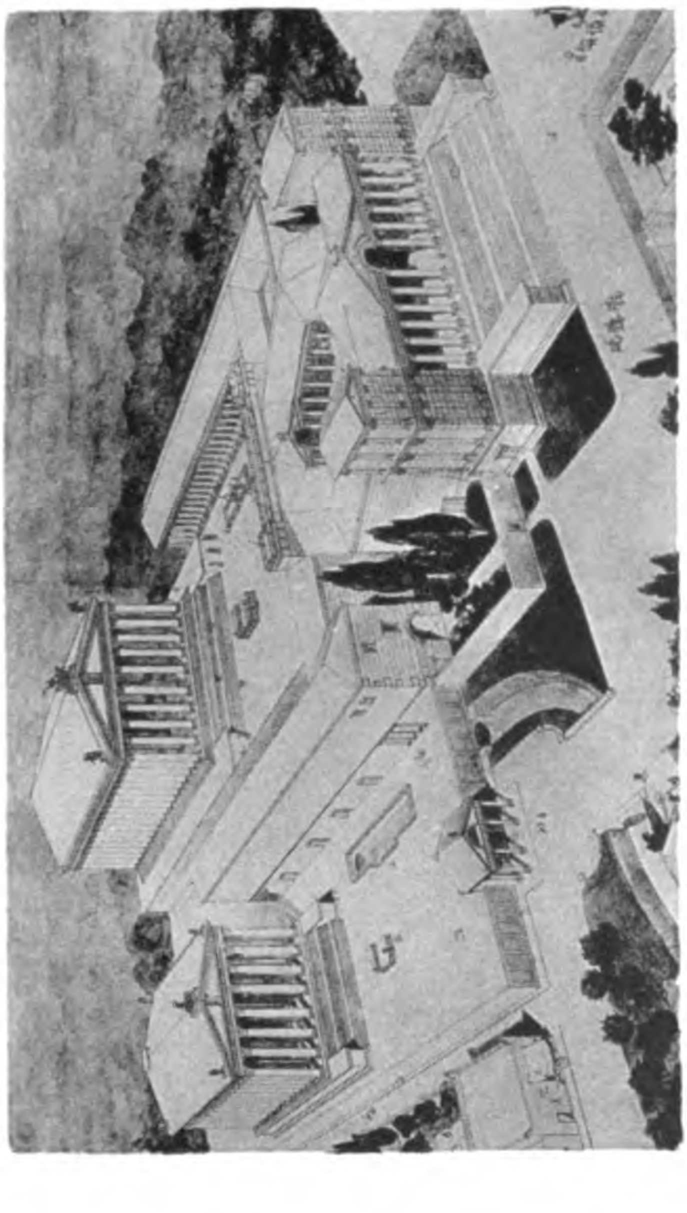


TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS LEUKOPHRYENE AT MAGNESIA A. M.

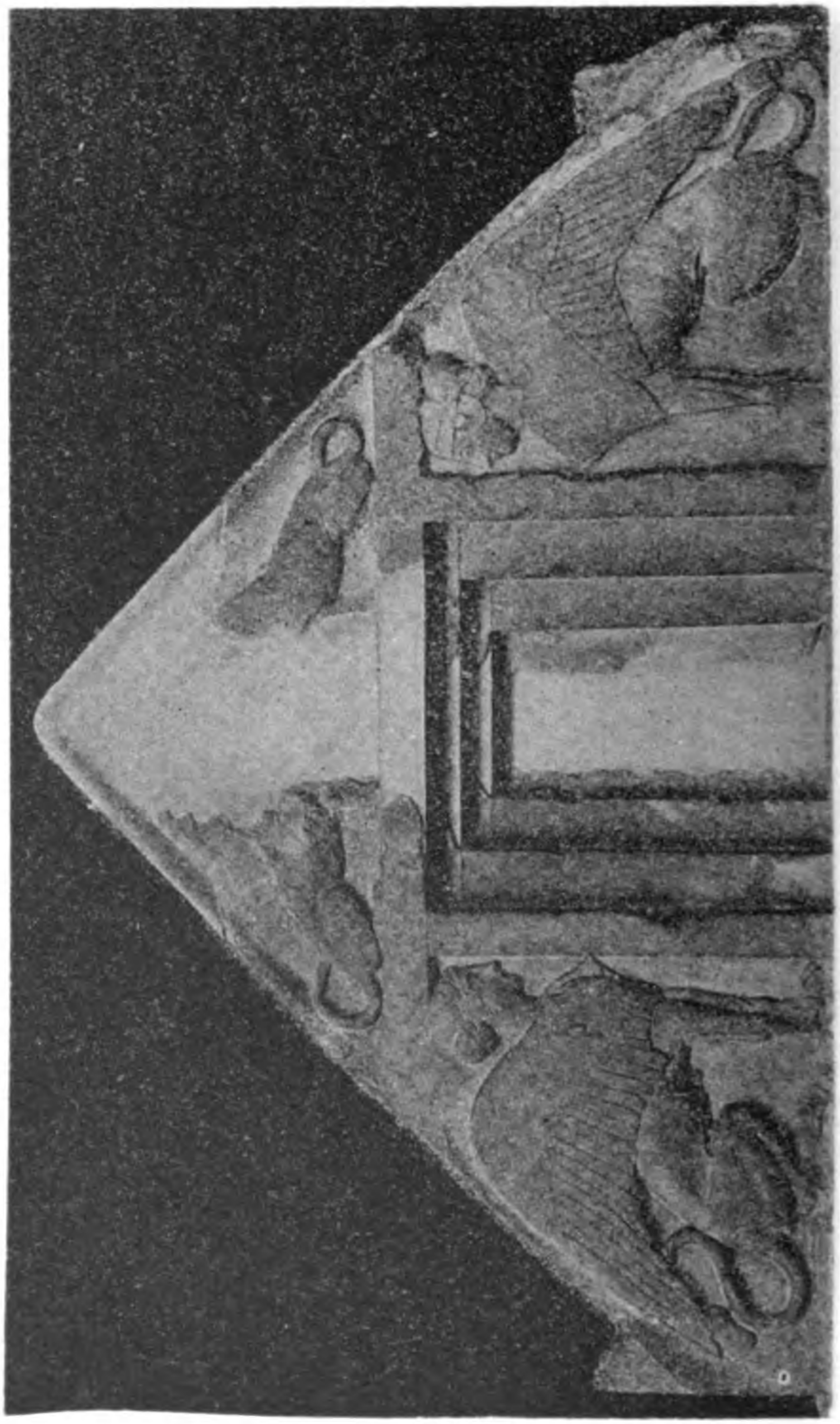


"TEMPLE OF CLAUDIUS" OR "SERAPEION" AT EPHESOS



a) SANCTUARY OF ZEUS HELIOPOLIS AT BAALBEK

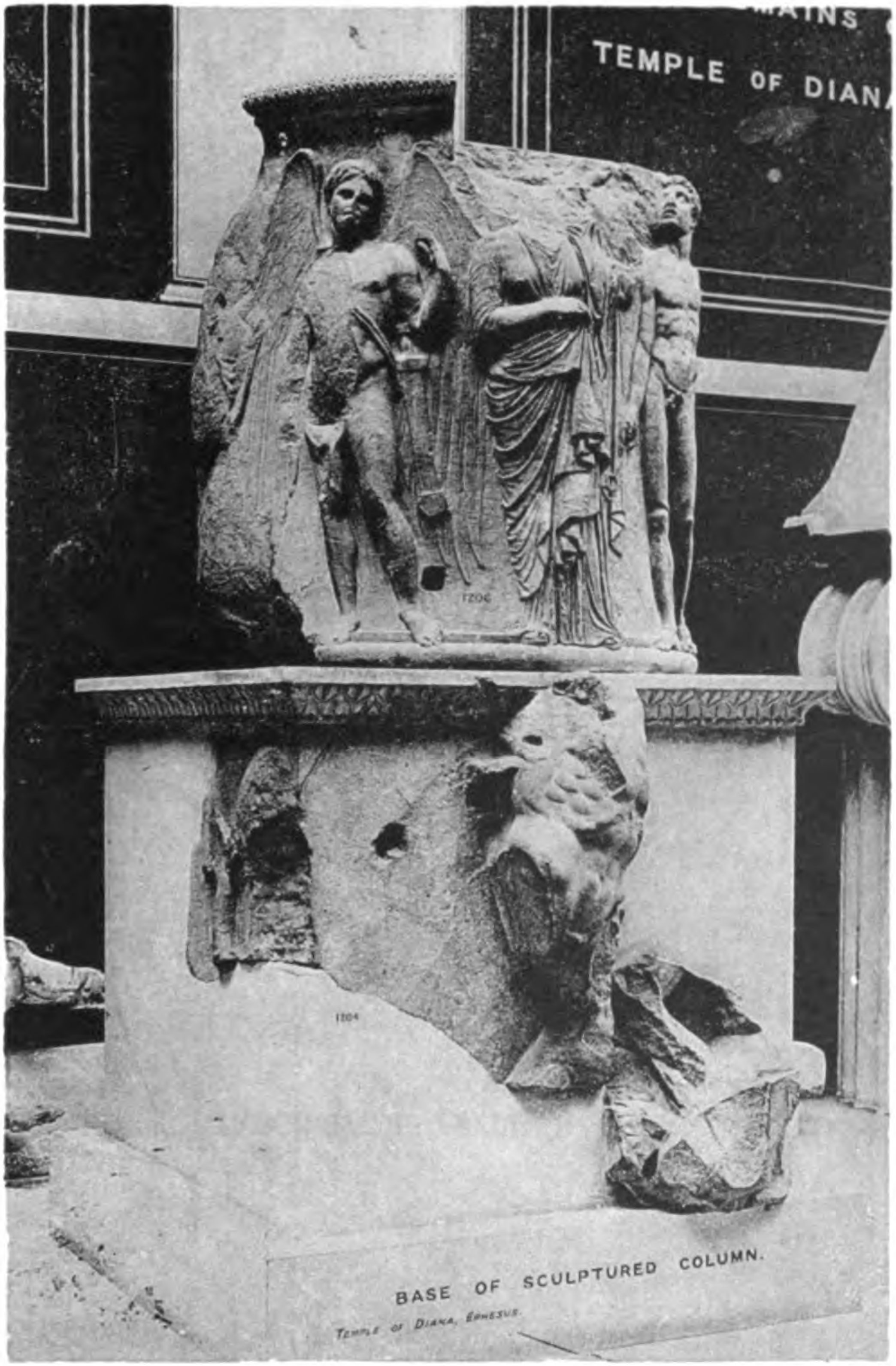
b) COIN OF BAALBEK
(Heliopolis)



GABLE END OF A TOMB FROM XANTHOS

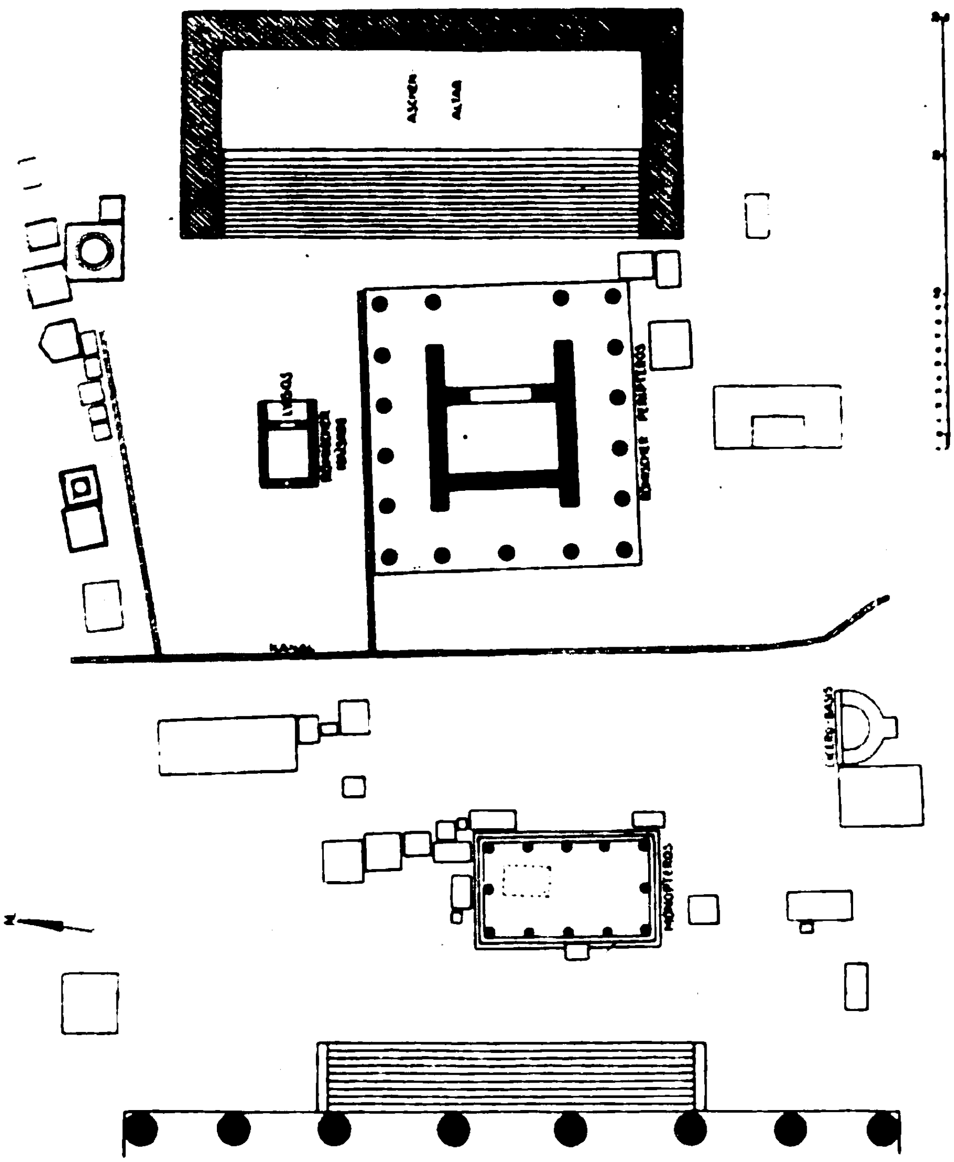
ROMAN RELIEF REPRESENTING THE PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE OF QUIRINUS

COIN OF EPHESOS (enlarged)

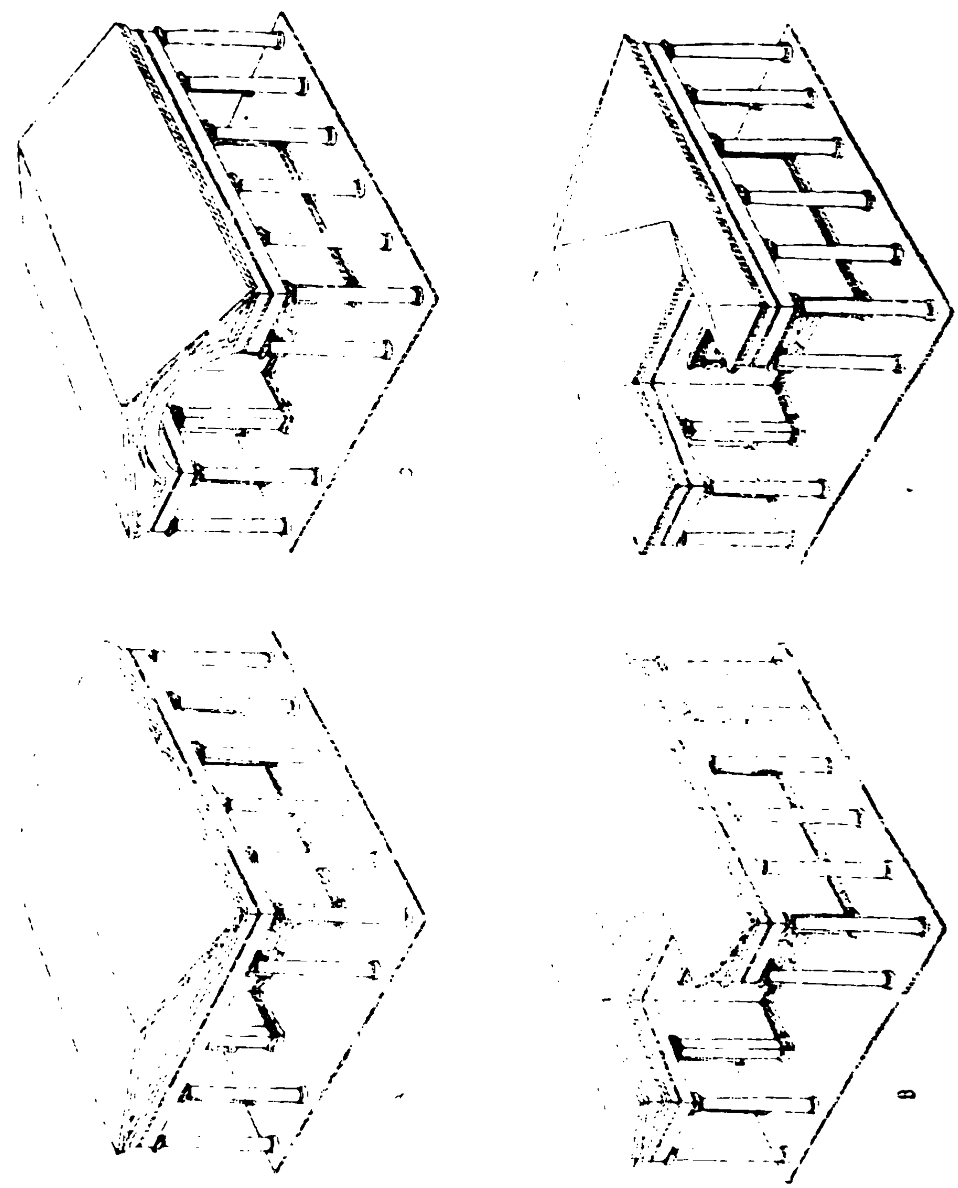


FRAGMENTS OF TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHESOS

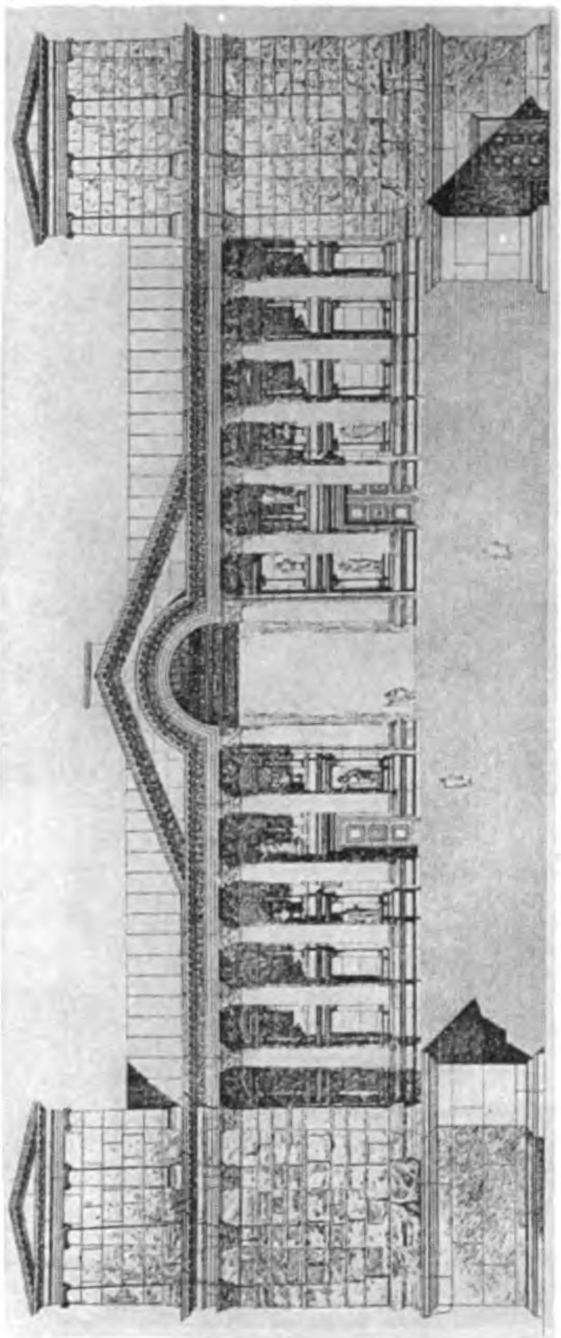
VOTIVE RELIEF FROM LOCRI



AREA BETWEEN TEMPLE OF HERA AND ITS ALTAR AT SAMOS

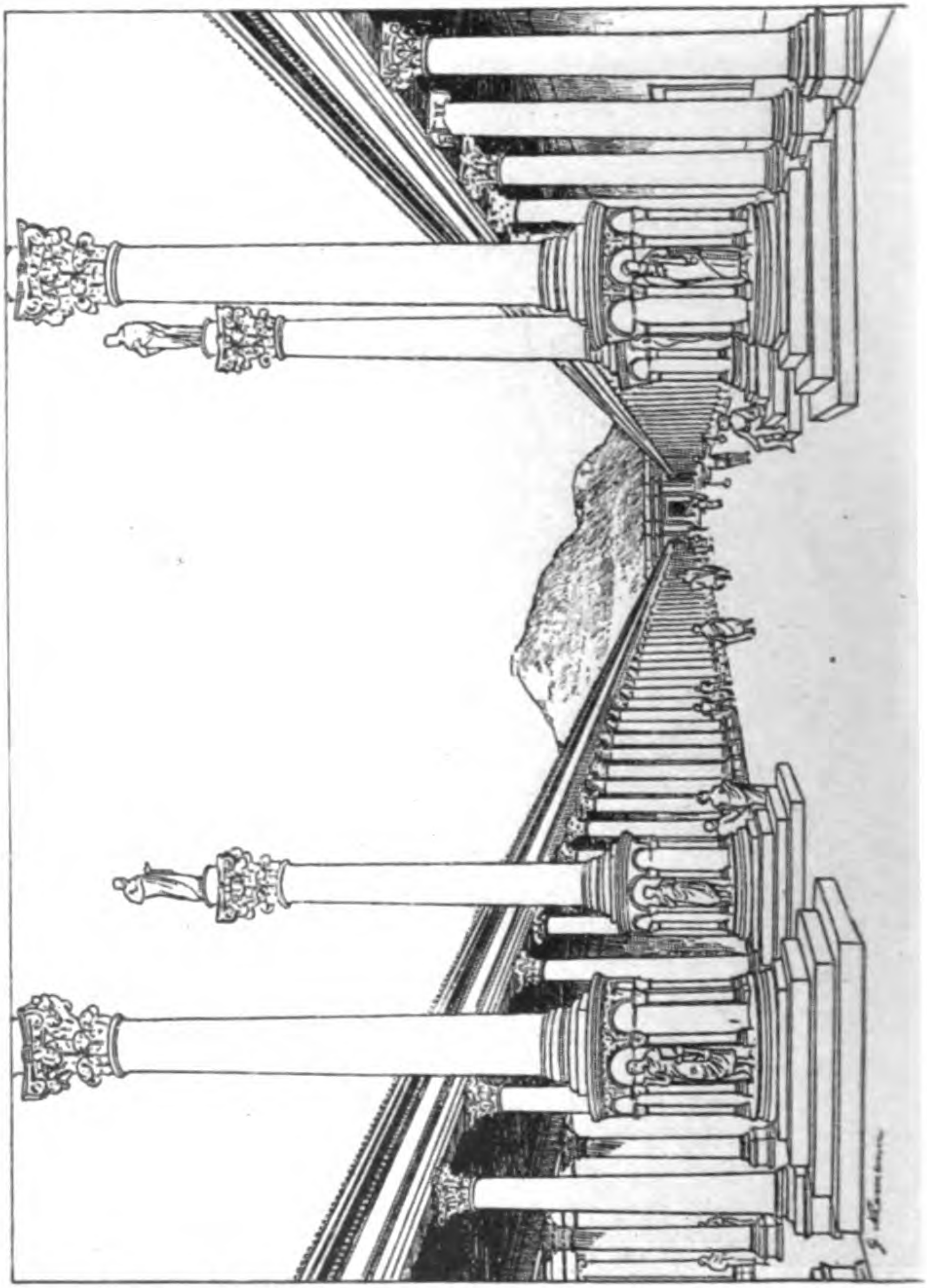


SUGGESTED ELEVATIONS OF THE ROMAN PERIPTEROS AT SAMOS

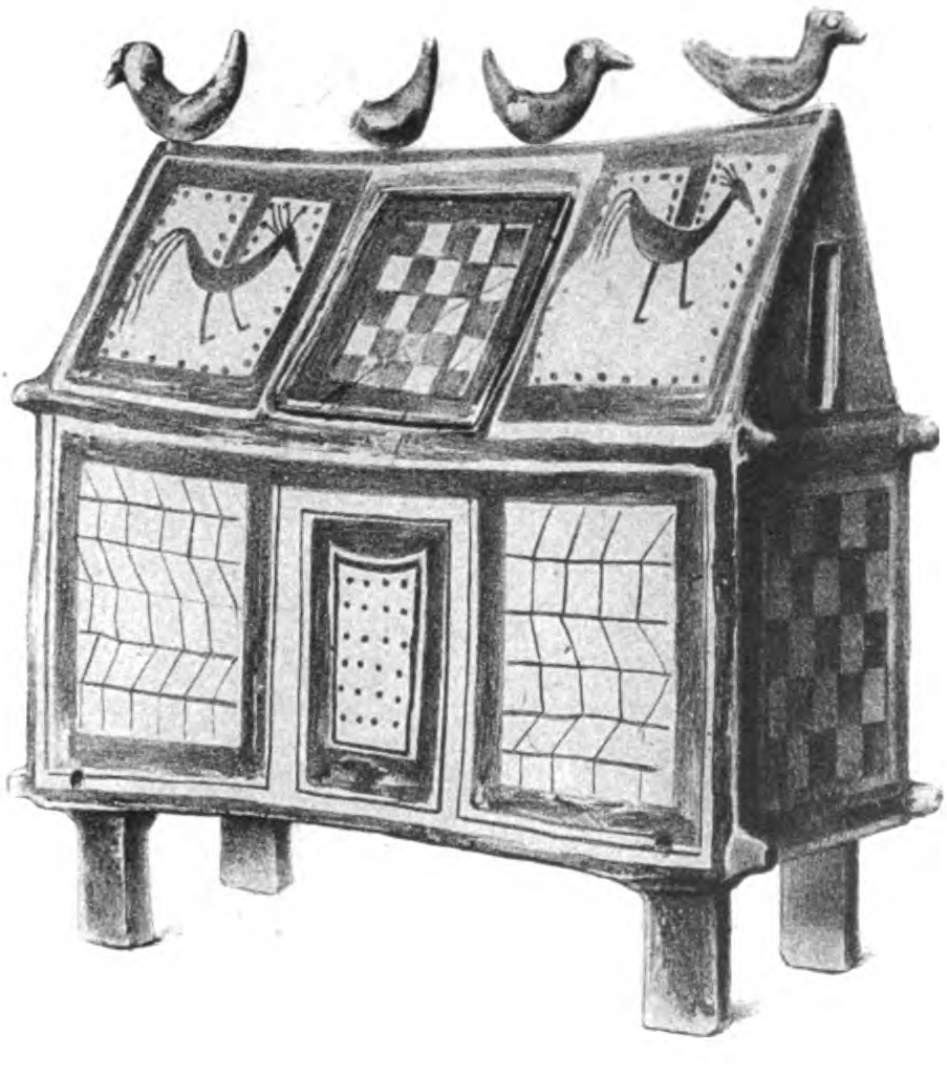


a) ENTRANCE PORTICO AT BAALBEK

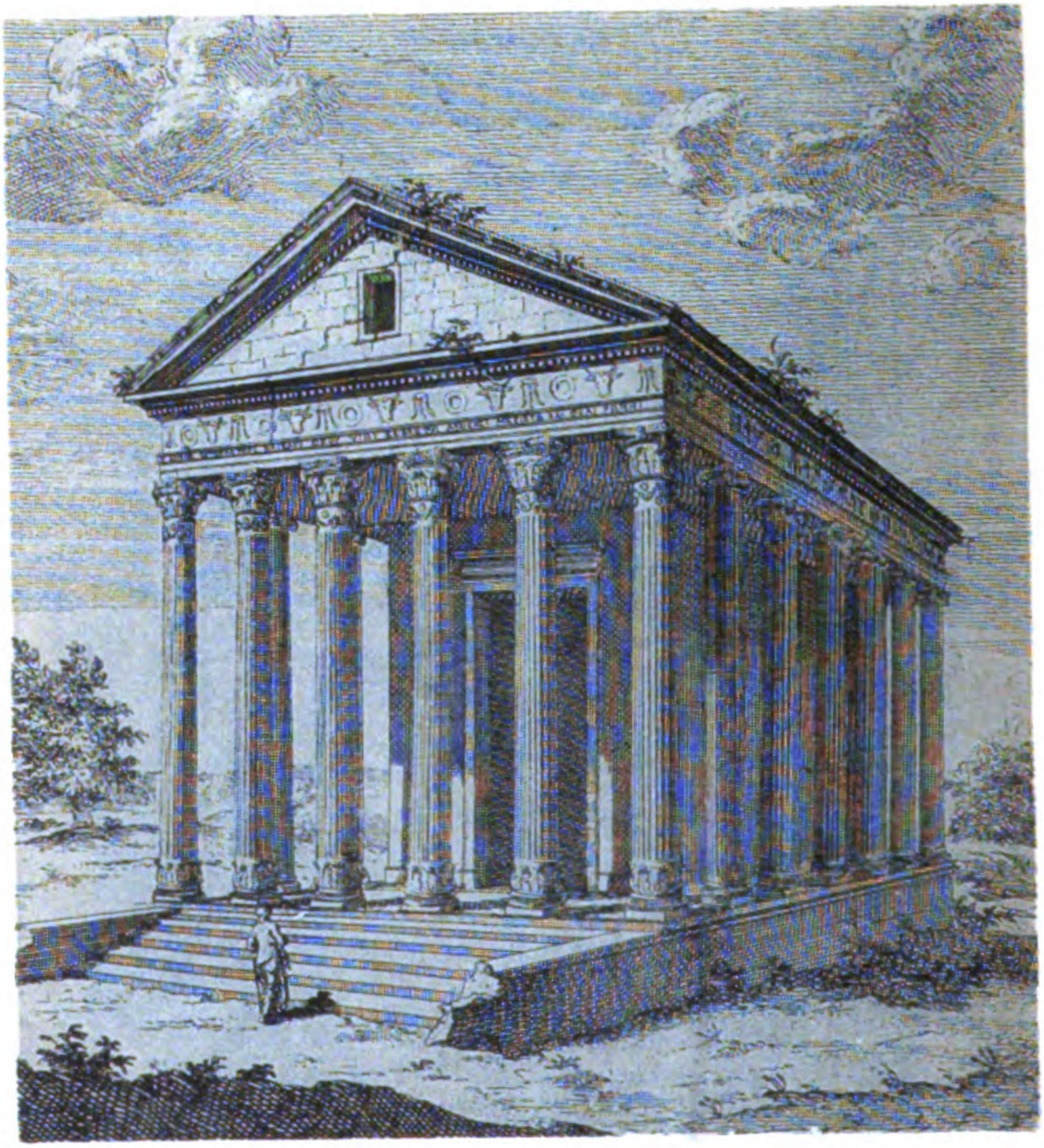
b) COIN OF BAALBEK (Heliopolis)



THE ARKADIAN AT EPHESOS



CINERARY URN FROM CENTRAL ITALY, 8th-7th CENT. B. C.



TEMPLE OF ROME AND AUGUSTUS AT MYLASA

PUBLICATIONS

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THE COINAGE OF RHESAENA IN MESOPOTAMIA

BY

KAREL O. CASTELIN

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PREFACE

Some years ago Dr. Castelin wrote from Prague to Mr. E. T. Newell to ask for casts and weights of his coins from Rhesaena for a study he was making of the history and coinage of that town. Knowing that a few specimens had been found in the excavations at Dura-Europos, Mr. Newell referred him to me, and we corresponded about his project for some time. As conditions in Europe got worse, it became apparent that he would have no chance of publishing his finished study in Prague and at last he therefore sent me his manuscript, together with the material for illustration, in the hope that it might be published in this country. In almost the last letter I had from him before communications were cut off, he empowered me to make any changes that I thought advisable. The bulk of the manuscript was in German, though the catalogue itself was in English. A complete translation of the German part was undertaken by Miss D. H. Cox, then my colleague in the Numismatic Collection at Yale, to whom I am most grateful for her admirable version. But it was obvious that the work must be much abbreviated if it was to be printed, for its bulk was very much larger than the present volume. With many misgivings, therefore, I set about a revision, depending

on Dr. Castelin's explicit permission, but constantly conscious of the unsatisfactory nature of the proceeding. Still, as I saw no hope of getting the monograph printed *in toto*, and the chance of being able to confer again with the author was extremely slight, I judged it better to abridge what seemed to me a very valuable work than to let it await the remote hope of a resumption of orderly scholarly life in Europe.

The parts omitted here have to do chiefly with the prehistory of the region and the history of religion. It is material which I trust Dr. Castelin will some day be able to present in another form but which seemed to me to throw the whole work, whose core is numismatic, out of proportion. I have omitted nothing, I hope, which will keep the corpus of coins from being intelligible. My additions are trivialities —items which the author would have included if they had come to his attention. I have tried very hard not to misrepresent him in any way. When he sees the result—soon, let us hope—I must rely on his generosity to forgive errors of commission and of omission, and I beg the reader to remember that the form is not of the author's choosing and may, therefore, do him less than justice.

ALFRED R. BELLINGER

THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY

In the waste of Mesopotamia where the population is, for the most part, sparse and nomadic, the mountains and the river districts form exceptional areas. The most extensive river basin is that of the Chabur, the only continuously flowing tributary of the Euphrates in Mesopotamia. Its head waters are in a depression half way between the Kurdish mountains and the western continuation of the Jebel Abd el Aziz, where the most copious of the numerous springs is known in Arabic as Ras el Ain or "Spring head," whence the city of Rhesaena takes its name. Today only the valley of the Chabur proper is partly settled. In the Middle Ages and Antiquity it was quite different: the thickly strewn tells and ruins show that for hundreds and thousands of years cities flourished in the Chabur valley and the surrounding regions.[1]

Settlement of the neighborhood of Rhesaena goes back to neolithic times and we have evidence for its continued occupation through the long periods of local power and control by Assyria. To the Assyrians succeeded the Medes and to the Medes the Persians, from whose time no substantial remains are known in the Chabur spring region. The successors of Alexander, however, in pursuance of a general policy later adopted by the Romans, settled colonies of veterans in northern Mesopotamia which became autonomous cities using the Seleucid era and

[1] For the history of the region in general see Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate*, Paris, 1907; Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-gebiet*, Berlin, 1913–20; Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf*, Leipzig, 1931.

the Macedonian calendar, Greek commercial laws and, above all, the Greek language as the speech of trade and commerce.

During the succeeding centuries, however, until about 200 A. D. the Aramaic-Arabic influence again grew gradually stronger. Nomadic tribes penetrated into the settled areas. Edessa in Osrhoene became the capital of a more or less independent Arabian state under Parthian influence. The attempted interference of Rome collapsed at Carrhae, where Crassus lost the battle, his army and his life, and the Chabur lands remained under the tolerant control of the Parthians who encroached little on the administration of the autonomous cities. The Parthian era was one of prosperity for Mesopotamia; business throve and trade greatly increased. The whole land profited from the enormous caravan traffic which bound the East to Asia Minor, Greece and Italy; it became the bridge between the Parthian kingdom and the world power of Rome and even the campaign of Trajan hardly altered that condition.

Nevertheless, from the first Christian century on we must assume a growing number of Roman citizens side by side with the native population, Greek, Semitic and Iranian. At the end of the second century there began a systematic Roman military colonization and later the banishment of the native dynasty of Edessa brought a new influx of Romans into the country, though they still remained a small minority of the population, and Greek maintained its position as the written language, fortified by the Roman policy of fostering Hellenism in its widest sense among the heterogeneous eastern people.

The historical events which led to the conquering of Mesopotamia under Marcus Aurelius and to its reorganization and the increasing of the army by three new legions under Septimius Severus are well known.[2] The incorporation of Mesopotamia brought it into close contact with the Hellenized provinces of the East, especially with that center of Hellenism, Antioch on the Orontes, whose influence, powerful if superficial, is evident on many of the lesser cities of the district. Others, however, such as Dura, Rhesaena, Nisibis and Singara which lay near the Parthian border gradually became typical Roman garrison towns.

The new province of Mesopotamia was for a time under a procurator of equestrian rank, then under an equestrian prefect who held one of the highest positions available to a knight, carrying with it the title of *vir eminentissimus*.[3] Of the three new Parthian legions, two, the Prima and the Tertia Parthica, were stationed in the new province; the Secunda, as is well known, was quartered in the Alban hills near Rome. The commanders of these legions, which were ducenarii,[4] were knights with rank equal to that of procurator.[5] In the course of the third century a single prefect seems to have held the command of both Mesopotamian legions and at the same time to have been administrator of the

[2] Hasebroek, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisars Septimius Severus*, Heidelberg. 1921; Schachermeyr, "Mesopotamien" in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie*, XV, 1. cols. 1158–1163.

[3] Schachermeyr, *loc. cit.*

[4] Domaszewski, "Die Rangordnung der römischen Heeres," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 117, (1908).

[5] Schachermeyr, *op. cit.*; Rostovtzeff, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft im Römischen Kaiserreich*, Leipzig, 1929, II, p. 115; Hirschfeld, *Die Kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, II, Berlin, 1905, 375; 396.

province.[6] His headquarters are assumed to have been at Nisibis[7] but much can also be said for Rhesaena. Perhaps he also commanded the little Euphrates fleet.

Of the two new Mesopotamian legions, the First Parthica had its station from the beginning at Singara in the east of the province where it remained until the time of Constantius II.[8] It has already been conjectured that Rhesaena was the headquarters of the Third Parthica.[9] Here was the principal camp, the quarters of the commander and his staff, the sanctuary for the *aquila* and *signa*, the portraits of the imperial family and the legion's treasury. But though a large part of the fighting force was stationed here we must not assume that the whole strength was kept together. On the contrary, in a border province such as Mesopotamia there were a number of *praesidia*, permanent military sub-stations which furnished garrisons for all the strategic points and patrols for the important roads. Such subordinate stations, held by detachments, were necessary on frontiers where there was no continuous fortified *limes* as there was in Germany. In addition there were various temporary details, such as foraging, escort, construction and police which occupied the soldiers with perpetual but varied duties. Nevertheless, they had far more freedom than the legionaries of the Republic had enjoyed. They were not merely stationed in the Roman colony but were at home there. Not only

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[6] Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate*, p. 164.
[7] Cassius Dio, 75, 9, 1; Hasebroek, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 78–9.
[8] Schachermeyr, *op. cit.*, col. 1161.
[9] Schachermeyr, *loc. cit.*

veterans, but men on active duty received allotments of land and tilled the soil as early as the time of Septimius Severus. They could now contract legal marriages and lived with their families or in lodgings, reporting for duty only periodically. On the other hand, for many years after their discharge the veterans were considered as a reserve and were available for duty in emergencies in special divisions entitled *vexilla veteranorum*.

The ruins of ancient Rhesaena lie in the center of the Chabur spring region, longitude 40° 8′ N., latitude 36° 48-49′ E. on the right bank of the Chabur (the Chaboras of antiquity) about two kilometers above its junction with the Djerdjib. The site is now known as Fecheria.[10] The ruins cover more than a square kilometer; the city was larger than the neighboring Tell Halaf. All about were extensive suburbs, supported by the fertile soil and the abundance of water. The investigations of Chapot and Oppenheim have revealed very little of the actual features of the city, though the latter thought he could identify the remains of the Roman military camp within the city walls.[11] Until excavation can produce more evidence we must rely on its probable likeness to the nearby colony of Dura-Europos.[12]

Rhesaena was from early times an important center and junction of many ancient and well-travelled roads. One started from Zeugma, one from Samosata, both running through Carrhae in Oshroene and through Rhesaena to Ninus (Mossul)

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[10] Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf*, p. 37.
[11] Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 68f.
[12] Cf. Rostovtzeff et al., *Preliminary Reports I–VIII*.

by way of Nisibis or of Singara, or, branching off at Rhesaena, to Hatra and the Tigris. From here the way lay downstream into the Parthian kingdom, to Babylon and the Persian Gulf. The northern route through Mesopotamia is that which the Romans repeatedly used in their eastern campaigns, and which the Parthians followed in their attack on the West. Two roads coming down from Amida in the Kurdish mountains cross the main highway at Rhesaena, the one leading to Nicephorium at the junction of the Belissus (Balikh) with the Euphrates, and from there across the desert to Palmyra, the other following the Chabur south to Circesium. Although there are few mentions of the town in ancient literature we need not doubt that it was a place of importance; at least it was of sufficient consequence in Roman times to support its own mint.

THE COINAGE

Before the opening of the civic mints in northern Mesopotamia the currency of the region was, as might have been expected, Parthian with an increasing admixture of Roman coins; tetradrachms struck in Antioch and denarii and bronze from the mint of Rome.[13] The Parthian wars of Septimius Severus

[13] On the circulation of the denarius in Syria cf. Mommsen, *Geschichte des römisches Münzwesen*, Berlin, 1860, p. 717. The coins of Mesopotamia as a whole in Roman times have been treated in Eckhels' *Doctrina Numorum* and Head's *Historia Numorum*. There is valuable material in Macdonald's *Catalogue of the Hunterian Collection*, but the fundamental work is Hill's volume on *Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, of the *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*. Hoards from Dura-Europos containing Mesopotamian as well as Syrian material are published in the *Notes and Monographs* of the American Numismatic Society as follows: Bellinger, *Two Roman Hoards from Dura-Europos* (No. 49); *The Third and Fourth Dura Hoards* (No. 55); *The Sixth, Seventh and Tenth Dura Hoards* (No. 69); *The Eighth and Ninth Dura Hoards* (No. 85); Newell, *The*

and later those of his son Caracalla, with their large concentration of troops must have further encouraged the use of imperial coins in the East. But at the same time there began an increase in the number of mint towns in Syria and Mesopotamia issuing local bronze coinages under the supervision of a city magistrate. These gradually supplanted the imperial bronze which was produced in smaller and smaller quantities. Even on the Rhine and the Danube they were rare in the first decade of the third century;[14] on the Euphrates it must have been the same. The metal for the Mesopotamian (and Syrian?) bronze coins came presumably from the rich copper mines of Arghana Maden near Diarbekr to the north of Rhesaena, which are still among the most important in the world.

The so-called *Vexillum-coins* and the autonomous coins of Rhesaena both belong to the local coinage. We shall speak later of their types and inscriptions; here we wish to deal with their comparative metal content so far as that is possible in their present condition. Bellinger[15] has divided the coinage of our province in the third century into four groups according to size: pieces with diameters of 30, 25, 20 and 15 mm. Similarly the coins of Rhesaena, divided according to average weight[16] fall into two

Fifth Dura Hoard (No. 58). See also the chapters on the coins in the *Dura Preliminary Reports II, III, IV, V, VI, VII–VIII*; Cumont, *Etudes Syriennes*, Paris, 1917, pp. 21–22; 141, note 1; 188; 281; Welles, *The civil archives of Dura* 383 (D. Pg. 23); 396 (D. Pg. 32); Bellinger and Welles "A Third Century Contract of Sale from Dura-Europos," *Yale Classical Studies* V (1935); Babelon, "Charac-Moba," *Revue Numismatique*, 1899, pp. 274–277; Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen*, Munich, 1890, p. 234.

[14] Mommsen, *Römisches Münzwesen*, p. 735; Bernhart, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Halle, 1926, p. 10.

[15] *Dura Rep., VII–VIII*, pp. 419–421.

[16] No allowance is made here for wear; the actual weight is used.

groups: those from Caracalla to Severus (211–235) forming one, those of Trajan Decius (249–251) the other. The weights of the coins in this catalogue have been noted whenever possible, especially for the time of Decius, for which we still have relatively few points of comparison.

The coins of the first period are listed in Table I where we find three groups of distinct type and weight. The smallest coins (those having a diameter of 16–18 mm.) with only one *vexillum*[17] on the reverse and the emperor's head on the obverse have an average weight of 3.65 gr. under Caracalla and 3.34 gr. under Severus Alexander (setting aside No. 1 as abnormal perhaps due to an error in weight). The next larger group (diameter 19–20 mm.) with two *vexilla* appears under two emperors; under Caracalla the average weight is 6.13 gr., under Elagabalus only 5.73 gr. (only two examples). We do not know what these denominations were called, we can only say that they were the two smallest, corresponding roughly to the Roman *semis*[18] and *quadrans* (or *triens*); two of the smaller pieces were perhaps equal to one of the larger.

Of the coins with a diameter of about 25 mm. the very rare older pieces (those of Elagabalus) are in general heavier than the more common pieces of Severus Alexander.[19] There is no doubt, however,

[17] No. 7 is an exception with standard between two *vexilla*.

[18] Compare the Syrian semis under Trajan, whose average weight Wruck (*Die Syrische Provinzialprägungen*, Stuttgart, 1931, pp. 167, 172) gives as 5.06 gr.; the Syrian *as* of the same period would indicate a *semis* of 5.76 gr.

[19] The great variation in weight of the single coins of Severus Alexander (8.4–15.19 gr.) is not surprising for they have, without exception, been struck over used flans which were probably already worn in varying degrees. Elmer (*Verzeichnis der römische Reichsprägungen*, p. 28) gives the weight of the Roman copper *as* after 217

that they represent the same denomination and had the same purchasing power. They were perhaps comparable to the Roman *dupondius*, or more probably to the *as*.[20]

It is of interest to note that the reduction in weight which took place in the imperial coins after 217 was paralleled here in Rhesaena in the smaller coins of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander. The great amount of wear apparent on almost all of these coins, notably the *Vexillum-coins*, indicates that they had a more extended circulation both in time and space than can now be proven. They were used not only in the narrow circle of the mint city but wherever members of that legion went whose name they bore; that is, in all garrison stations and outposts within and on the border of the province, such as Dura. If so far they have not been identified in finds, except from Dura, it is probably because of their poor state of preservation and the fact that until recently they have not been recognized as a single, related group.

Maximinus (235-238) struck no coins in Mesopotamia at all. Neither Gordian III (238-244) nor Philip (244-249) minted in Rhesaena, though the former used the mint at Singara and Nisibis and the latter that at Nisibis. Both in style and size their coins offer additional confirmation of Mommsen's assumption that in the third century the local copper currencies were gradually absorbed into the imperial coinage.[21] Considered in this light the issues of Gordian would correspond to *sestertii* and *dupondii*

as 1/32 of the Roman pound: 10.23 gr. which is not far from our average weight.

[20] Wruck, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 172, equates the similar Syrian copper piece of Trajan (11.53 gr.) with the *as* or 1/2 *as*.

[21] Cf. the authorities cited in note 14.

or *asses*,[22] and those of Philip to *asses* and *semes*.[23]

In describing the Eighth and Ninth Dura Hoards, Bellinger points out that after the expedition of Gordian III in 242 a definite plan was followed in the copper coinage of Mesopotamia as a whole, apparently under the supervision of a Roman magistrate. We may add that as the militarization of the administration of the Roman province became more marked, the local coinage seemed to take on more and more of a military character, at least in a border province such as Mesopotamia. This development must have led gradually to the mint's personnel becoming identified with the army and the mint towns with the garrisons.

The unusually rich local coinage of Rhesaena under Trajan Decius (249-251) can be divided both by size and type into three clearly marked denominations. Their average weights are listed in the following table.

Diameter ca. 26 mm.		
1st Period,[24] issues a, b, c		
Average weight of 16 pieces	12.52 gr.	
2nd Period, issues d, e, f		
Average weight of 29 pieces	11.94 gr.	
Average weight of 45 pieces		12.14 gr.
Diameter ca. 21 mm.		
2nd Period		
Average weight of 4 pieces		6.27 gr.
Diameter ca. 16 mm.		
1st Period		
Weight of 1 piece	4.30 gr.	
2nd Period		
Average weight of 4 pieces	3.16 gr.	
Average weight of 5 pieces		3.39 gr.

[22] *Sestertii*, *B.M.C. Arabia*, p. 121, Nos. 14, 15; p. 135, Nos. 7–13. *Dupondii* or *asses*, *ibid.* p. 121, Nos. 11–13; p. 134, Nos. 1–6; p. 136, Nos. 14, 15.

[23] *Asses*, *B.M.C. Arabia*, pp. 122f., Nos. 17–25, 27–32. *Semis*, *ibid.*, p. 12, No. 26.

[24] For discussion of this period cf. below, pp. 56-62.

We have here three denominations whose relation can be expressed in round numbers as 4 to 2 to 1. Like the earlier coins of Rhesaena they have no mark of value. In order to establish the denominations which they represent we must compare them with the imperial coinage. Comparison with the imperial issues of Decius[25] gives the following:

Imperial Coinage	*Coinage of Rhesaena*	*Denomination*
40.93 gr.		Double Sestertius
20.46 gr.		Sestertius
	12.14 gr.	
10.23 gr.		Dupondius
9.63 gr.		As
	6.27 gr.	
3.21 gr.	3.29 gr.	Triens or quadrans

The smallest denomination of the provincial series is apparently the *triens* or *quadrans* (opinions still differ as to the proper term for the imperial coins). The difference here between the local and imperial standard is inconsiderable. The other two units of the city, however, fall between those of the imperial series. The pieces of 6.27 gr. can evidently be *semisses*.[26] The pieces of 12.14 gr. we have considered *dupondii* although they are con-

[25] Elmer, *Verzeichnis der römische Reichsprägungen*, p. 28. Bernhart, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit*, p. 23, considers the smallest denomination a *quadrans*. Cf. also Regling, *R.E.* II A, 1351. Wittig, *R.E.* XV, 1, 1277, calls it a *semis*.

[26] Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1931–1937, II, puts imperial coins of approximately the same size (of the time of Hadrian) into two different groups: half *as* and *semis*, unfortunately without giving accurate weights.

spicuously heavier than the imperial standard.[27] We must content ourselves provisionally with these names for the coins of Rhesaena, recognizing that many questions remain unanswered. Indeed not only is the whole relation of eastern to imperial coinage most uncertain, but the nomenclature of the imperial coinage itself for this period is purely hypothetical.[28]

CATALOGUE

Every coin registered in the catalogue is of bronze.[29] All coins have borders of dots on both sides and the inscriptions begin below, at the left. Diameter, weight and relation of reverse die to obverse are given wherever known. When there are several examples of a coin, all from a single pair of dies, only the best preserved inscription is given; the diameter and weight of the others are recorded.

CARACALLA TO SEVERUS ALEXANDER (211–235)

The Vexillum-coins

There are in the public collections of Europe certain coins of similar fabric and type which for the

[27] The opinion of Cesano (and Mommsen) that the radiate crown denotes a double value—*dupondius* or *antoninianus* (*Atti e Memorie dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica*, Vol. III, Fasc. II 1919, p. 50) finds no support here, for all of the large bronzes of Decius from Rhesaena obviously represent the same denomination whether the head is radiate or laureate. Cf. Bellinger, *Dura Rep. VII–VIII*, p. 420, note 6.

[28] Kubitschek, "Die Münzsorten der Inschrift von Feltre," *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philologische-historische Klasse* 71, 1934, p. 145.

[29] For base silver tetradrachms which may have been struck at Rhesaena see Bellinger, *The Syrian Tetradrachms of Caracalla and Macrinus*, New York, 1940, pp. 60f. Nos. 170–177.

most part have not yet been published. They are sometimes listed among the uncertain coins of Mesopotamia, sometimes under the coinage of Rhesaena. They came from the first third of the third century and form a homogeneous group which is distinguished from other contemporary Mesopotamian coins in size, style and type. The reverse shows a *vexillum*, a Roman military ensign, and hence the whole group may be called *Vexillum-coins*.

They have a diameter of 15-18 mm. and an average weight of ca. 3.5 gr. No inscription indicates their place of origin, but their Mesopotamian character is certain. Their striking, in comparison with imperial coins, is notably careless and uneven and their preservation generally very bad. They were issued under Caracalla, Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, but the first two are very hard to distinguish, for their portraits are here mere caricatures, and their names are identical, being apparently written ΑΥΤΟΚ(*ράτωρ*) Κ(*αῖσαρ*) Μ(*άρκος*) Α(*ὐρήλιος*) ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ(*αστός*) though never entirely visible on any one coin. The forms of the letters and the abbreviations vary: instead of ω and Ω one finds O as well; instead of I, EI; the name is sometimes in the accusative (ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΝ). The A appears, as often elsewhere, without the cross bar (Λ); other letters are backwards (N, Σ, Ɔ); Z sometimes stands for Ξ. Of the obverse inscription under Severus Alexander little more than ΑΛΕΞΑΝ ΔΡΟΣ is recognizable. In the text the standard forms E, Ξ, Σ, Ω are used for Є, Z, C, ω.

COINS WITH VEXILLUM

CARACALLA, 211–217

1. . . . ANT[. . .]NON ΣEB Plate I
Head of Caracalla r., bearded, laureate, seen from the rear; beneath, eagle flying r.
Rev. Vexillum between
B.M.C. (Rhesaena), 3, Pl. XVIII, 3; ↑, 19 mm. 8.34 gr. (?)

2. . . IOII . . [ ] . . . . Plate I
Similar
Rev. Vexillum, on which . I . . between
Berlin (Incerti Mesopotamiae), ↑, 17 mm., 4.12 gr.

3. . . . . ΩNIN . . .
Similar
Rev. Similar to No. 1
Vienna (Rhesaena), ↓, 18 mm., 4.65 gr.

4. [ ]. ΛNΣ
Similar
Rev. Vexillum on which between
Berlin (Incert. Mesop.), ↙, 16 mm., 2.39 gr.

5. [ ] ANTΩИI Plate I
Male head r., laureate; beneath, eagle flying r.
Rev. Vexillum and Sagittarius r., in field l. III, r. Ɔ
B.M.C. (Rhesaena), 2, Pl. XVIII, 2, ↓ 16 mm., 2.11 gr.

6. AYT . . . . TΩN[Plate I
Similar
Rev. Similar to No. 5, but with smaller *Vexillum*, Sagittarius larger, no inscription
Leningrad (Rhesaena), ↑, 16 mm., 4.22 gr.

7. AYTOI..[Plate I
Same die as No. 6
Rev. Roman *signum* between two *vexilla*; in field ...|...|ᚠ|ς
Berlin (Incert. Mesop.), ↗ 16 mm., 3.70 gr.

8. ....ITΩ..... Plate I
Male head, r., laureate
Rev. Similar to No. 1; on the *vexillum* ...., in field
Berlin (Incert. Mesop.), 17 mm., 4.77 gr.

9. ΛVTOI......... Plate I
Similar
Rev. Similar. In field
Vienna (Rhesaena) ↓ 17 mm., 3.88 gr.

10. Inscription illegible
Similar
Rev. Similar. On the *vexillum* in field
Berlin (Incert. Mesop.), ↗ 15 mm.

11. ..O.....[Plate I
Male head (?), r., radiate
Rev. Similar ...|...
Berlin (Incert. Mesop.) ↗ 16 mm.

12.]ΛΙΝΟΩΝ.... Plate I
Male head l., laureate
Rev. Similar. In field,
Berlin (Incert. Mesop.), ↗ 18 mm., 3.07 gr.

CARACALLA WITH DOMNA, PLAUTILLA OR GETA

13. Inscription illegible Plate I
Two busts confronted, male bust r., laureate, female (?) bust l.; beneath, spread eagle l., looking r.
Rev. Similar. In field
Berlin (Incert. Mesop.) ↗ 19 mm., 5.88 gr.

All of the coins reading ANTΩNINOC or something similar and having a bearded portrait can be attributed with certainty to Caracalla. But it is not always possible to say whether the head is bearded or not. Dots and lines or a ragged outline may be meant to indicate a beard or may merely be due to the ineptitude of the engraver. On our coins all of those with definitely bearded heads and those on which there probably was a beard are supported by a spread eagle, which strengthens the attribution to Caracalla. We have similar representations of this emperor on the tetradrachms, and on bronze from Nisibis,[20] (Plate IA) whereas I know of no similar coins of Elagabalus from Syria or Mesopotamia.

Nos. 1–4 may therefore be considered certain. The similar obverse of Nos. 5 and 6 would connect them also with Caracalla; the only difficulty lies in the appearance of Sagittarius on the reverse who occurs also on Nos. 14–16, attributed to Elagabalus. It also seems to me that the autonomous coins with Sagittarius should be given to Elagabalus. But since Sagittarius is the sign of the III Parthian Legion, organized by Septimius Severus, he could obviously appear on *Vexillum-coins* under Caracalla. The fact that Nos. 6 and 7 have the same obverse die but different reverse types shows that more than one reverse may be attributed to one emperor. In the

[20] For the tetradrachms, Bellinger, *The Syrian Tetradrachms of Caracalla and Macrinus*, Pls. IX, 1; X, 15; XV, 16; XVI, 5; XVIII, 15–17; XXI, 14, 15; XXIV, 2; for Nisibis, *Hunterian Collection* III, Pl. LXXIX, 13 (3 similar examples in Berlin). The significance of the eagle and its connection with the imperial cult have often been discussed. See particularly Cumont, "L'Aigle funéraire," *Etudes Syriennes*, pp. 35–71 and Dieudonné, "L'Aigle d'Antioche," *Revue Numismatique*, 1909, pp. 458–480.

cases of Nos. 8–12 the similarity of the reverse to that of No. 1 connects them with Caracalla in spite of the absence of the eagle on the obverse and the uncertainty as to the beard.

No. 13 is exceptional. The piece is much worn and the obverse inscription illegible, but two confronted busts are recognizable. That on the left is certainly laureate and seems to have been bearded, but whether that on the right is male or female we cannot decide. The pair might conceivably be Macrinus and Diadumenian or even Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, but the eagle is characteristic of Caracalla and until a better preserved specimen is found we shall assume that the persons represented are he and Domna, Plautilla or Geta; the identification of the second figure might be of great value in establishing the chronology of the *vexillum* coinage.

ELAGABALUS, 218–222

14. Inscription illegible — Plate III
Bust r., laureate, in cuirass and paludamentum (?). In field r., uncertain object.
Rev. Sagittarius running r., behind, two *vexilla;* in field l. female head r., with mural crown and veil (?)
Berlin, (Incert. Mesop.), ↑, 22 mm., 5.09 gr.

15. Similar. No inscription — Plate III
Rev. Similar
Paris, ↗ 20 mm.

16. Similar. Inscription illegible — Plate III
Rev. Similar, but without female head; between *vexilla* || (?)
Berlin (Incert. Mesop.), ↙, 16 mm., 3.65 gr.

Nothing remains of any of the inscriptions. But the absence of the eagle, the apparently beardless head and the difference in size, weight and type justify their provisional attribution to Elagabalus.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER, 222–235

17. . .ΣΤ.ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ Plate III
Bust r., laureate, in cuirass and paludamentum
Rev. Sagittarius r., in his right hand bow, in field r. *vexillum* with inscription LEG III, beneath Δ
B.M.C. (Rhesaena), 9, Pl. XVIII, 6, ↑, 19 mm., 3.01 gr.

17A. . . . . . .ΑΛ. . . . . Plate III
Same die as No. 17
Rev. Sagittarius r., his right hand over right shoulder, in left hand, bow.
Castelin, Prague, ↑, 17 mm., 3.35 gr.

18. . . . .ΚΣΙΛΙ. .[Plate III
Bust r., laureate, in cuirass and paludamentum
Rev. Eagle sitting l., behind him, *vexillum;* in field "'|?' / ⊲|S
Berlin (Incert. Mesop.), ↙, 16 mm., 3.65 gr.

With the last three coins of our series we are on firm ground. The remains of the inscriptions identify the emperor. Although the earlier *vexillum* coins are of much poorer workmanship than the contemporary autonomous pieces, here the reverse is true, these three being better in style and technique than the city coinage under the same emperor.

On No. 17 something seems to have been represented above the *vexillum*, perhaps a spread eagle as on the later small coins under Trajan Decius. Below the archer is a Δ. The same letter appears in

the same place on the autonomous coins of Rhesaena under Elagabalus (No. 23). What it means here and whether it has the same meaning in both places is not known.[31]

The principal reverse type of this whole group of coins is one of the insignia of the Roman army, the *vexillum*, in the form which is familiar from other monuments. (Plates XIV, XVII) "An einem Lanzenschafte ist ein Querholz befestigt, von welchem ein quadratisches Stück Zeug niederhängt, dessen unterer Rand mit Fransen besetzt ist. . . . Der Schuh hat die Form eines Dreizackes. Das Vexillum trägt die. . . . Bezeichnung des Truppenkörpers, aus welchem die Vexillation ausgeschieden worden ist."[32] A ribbon decorated with a metal ivy leaf hangs from the end of the cross piece.

The *vexillum* was the oldest type of flag in the Roman army.[33] Cassius Dio describes such *vexilla* in connection with the Parthian campaign of Crassus.[34] Since he speaks of more than one, he cannot have meant the single red flag flying from the commander's tent as a signal for battle.[35] In Caesar also we find the *vexillum* used as a standard without reference to a particular military unit.[36] Later it

[31] It certainly cannot be the initial of Dura as suggested by Blanchet ("Une monnaie présumée de Doura et la Legio III Parthica," *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, Vol. I, Paris, 1939, pp. 21–25). No. 23, below, was certainly struck at Rheseana, and among the thousands of coins from the excavations of Dura now identified this type does not once occur.

[32] Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen in römischen Heere*, Vienna, 1895. pp. 76f.

[33] Max Mayer, *Vexillum und Vexillarius*, Diss. Freiburg i. Br. Strassburg, 1910, p. 7; Domaszewski, *Fahnen*, p. 79; Rostovtzeff, "Vexillum and Victory," *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXXII, 1942. pp. 92–106, reproduced on Plate XVII.

[34] Cassius Dio, 40, 18, 3.

[35] Domaszewski, *Fahnen*, p. 79, note 1.

[36] *Bellum Gallicum*, VI, 36, 3.

was used as the characteristic emblem of bodies of mixed troops, known as *vexillationes* made up of different divisions of one legion or of detachments from several legions and auxiliary troops.[37] Veterans also, at the expiration of their service, were united under a *vexillum* and subject to call in emergency. However, the *vexillum* also appears as a symbol of the legion. An imperial coin of Trajan (a sestertius in the series commemorating the first Dacian war) has four eagles and four *vexilla* on the reverse.[38] On the triumphal arch at Beneventum a female figure holds a *vexillum* on which five eagles are perched.[39] This combination of *vexillum* and eagle appears at Rhesaena under Severus Alexander (No. 18) and later on the small coins of Trajan Decius (Nos. 151–156) as also under Geta and Gallienus at Tyre.[40] Here the eagle is obviously a symbol not of the imperial cult[41] but of the Roman army.[42]

Even without the presence of the eagle the *vexillum* may represent the legion, as is shown by the

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[37] Domaszewski, *Fahnen*, pp. 24–27; Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate*, p. 71; Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus*, Berlin, 1920, p. 7; Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* s.v. *vexillatio;* Nischer in Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegsführung der Griechen und Römer*, Müller's *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, Munich, 1928, p. 439.

[38] Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung*, I, Pl. V, 364; pp. 112–113: Obverse as usual; on the reverse a statue of Trajan, to right and left of which "stehen je zwei Adler und hinter ihnen vier vexilla. Sie deuten—mit grösster Wahrscheinlichkeit—auf die vier Legionen, mit denen Trajan den ersten Krieg führte."

[39] According to Domaszewski, *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 36, the figure represents *virtus quinque legionum*. See also Rostovtzeff, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft*, II, p. 265, note 1.

[40] *B.M.C.*, *Phoenicia*, p. 272, No. 380 and p. 294, No. 492, Pl. XXXV, 3.

[41] Cf. note 30 above.

[42] Domaszewski, *Fahnen*, p. 34; Strack, *op. cit.*, p. 113, note 437.

inscription on the coins under discussion which sometimes appears on the flag (No. 17), more generally in the field. In spite of various omissions and distortions the legend always stands for *LEG III P S*, that is, "Legio III Parthica Severiana."[43] We know from Cassius Dio that of the three legions newly formed under Septimius Severus the II Parthica was stationed in Italy, I and III in Mesopotamia.[44]

The *Vexillum-coins*, therefore, and the contemporary and later autonomous colonial coins of Rhesaena belong to the small class which are not imperial coins and yet bear the official names of Roman legions. Aside from their connection with the active troops, they are significant of the status of the town as a military colony,[45] (Plate II B [Damascus] C [Tyre]) and of the religious associations frequently assumed by military insignia. Legionary eagles and *signa* together with statues of the emperor were accorded divine honors and received sacrifices. The Dura excavations show that

[43] Local coins of Rhesaena have been erroneously described as reading *LEG III PIA*, but there can be no connection with the Third Legion Pia Fidelis (Ritterling, "Legio" Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real Encyclopädie*, XII, 2, col. 1540. For the *S* standing for "Severiana" cf. the stamped tiles, with the inscription *LEG II P S*, of the soldiers of the II Parthica stationed in the Alban hills. This interpretation is corroborated by the inscriptions. *Ephemeris Epigraphia*, IX, 975; *CIL* VIII, 2877; 2891 (Lambaesis). Ritterling (*R.E.* XII, 2, 1540) was of the opinion that in the time of Septimius Severus the emperor's name was not yet used in connection with the name of a legion but his dating must be revised in the light of our coins struck under Caracalla. Since none of the legends of the *vexillum* coins under Elagabalus is legible we cannot tell what was the official name of the legion in his time. Under Severus Alexander (No. 18) the *S* would, of course, be appropriate whether it was continued or reintroduced.

[44] Cassius Dio 55, 24, 4. Cf. Ritterling, *op. cit.*, col. 1539; Schachermeyr, *op. cit.*, col. 1161; Hill, *B.M.C. Arabia*, cx, note 3.

[45] Cf. Reinach in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *Vexillum*, p. 777, "il (sc. le vexillum placé sur les monnaies) indique qu'une ville est colonie romaine."

the *vexilla* were revered in the same fashion.[46] We should note also that in the East *signa* and *vexilla* are frequently represented in conjunction with religious types related to the local cult. The Dura excavations have brought to light an interesting object: a thymiaterion decorated with a winged figure with palm branch, two standards, a man carrying an eagle (?), other birds (eagles?), etc. (Fig. 1). Presumably the representations all have military associations, but the religious significance is not thereby excluded.[47]

The portrayal of two *vexilla* with a standard between (No. 7) or together with Sagittarius (Nos. 14–16) is perhaps to be understood as designating two divisions of the III Parthica stationed in different places,[48] or perhaps as referring to the two legions in our province, as on the somewhat earlier coins in Dacia and Moesia the figure of the Province holds two *vexilla*, or two *vexilla* are pictured at the side of the emperor.[49] The omission of the III Parthica in the inscription might be due to the fact that the *Vexillum-coins*, struck at the colony which

[46] Especially for the *vexilla* of auxiliary troops, Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, Paris, 1926, pp. 111–114; Rostovtzeff, *Yale Classical Studies*, V. p. 301. With these should be mentioned Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, 29.7, "et signa ipsa et cantabra et vexilla castrorum." The coins frequently show not only eagles but also military standards in temples; e.g. Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen*, p. 235, No. 773, Pl. XIV, 7 (Hierapolis) *B.M.C. Arabia*, Pl. XII, 4 (Carrhae), and pp. xcii f.; Baur, *Dura Rep. III*, pp. 115–117; Hopkins, *Dura Rep. V*, p. 105.

[47] Cumont, *Dura, Rep. I*, pp. 68–71, Pl. V.

[48] On the division of the legions on the eastern border of the Empire, see Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate*, pp. 85f.

[49] B. Pick, *Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien*, Berlin, 1898, I, 1, Pl. I, 1; 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10. In both provinces from the time of Caracalla on there were two legions (Ritterling, *R.E.* XII, 1366; Filow, *Die Legionen der Provinz Moesia*, *Klio*, Beiheft 6, p. 72). See also the coinage of Damascus in Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, III. p. 333.

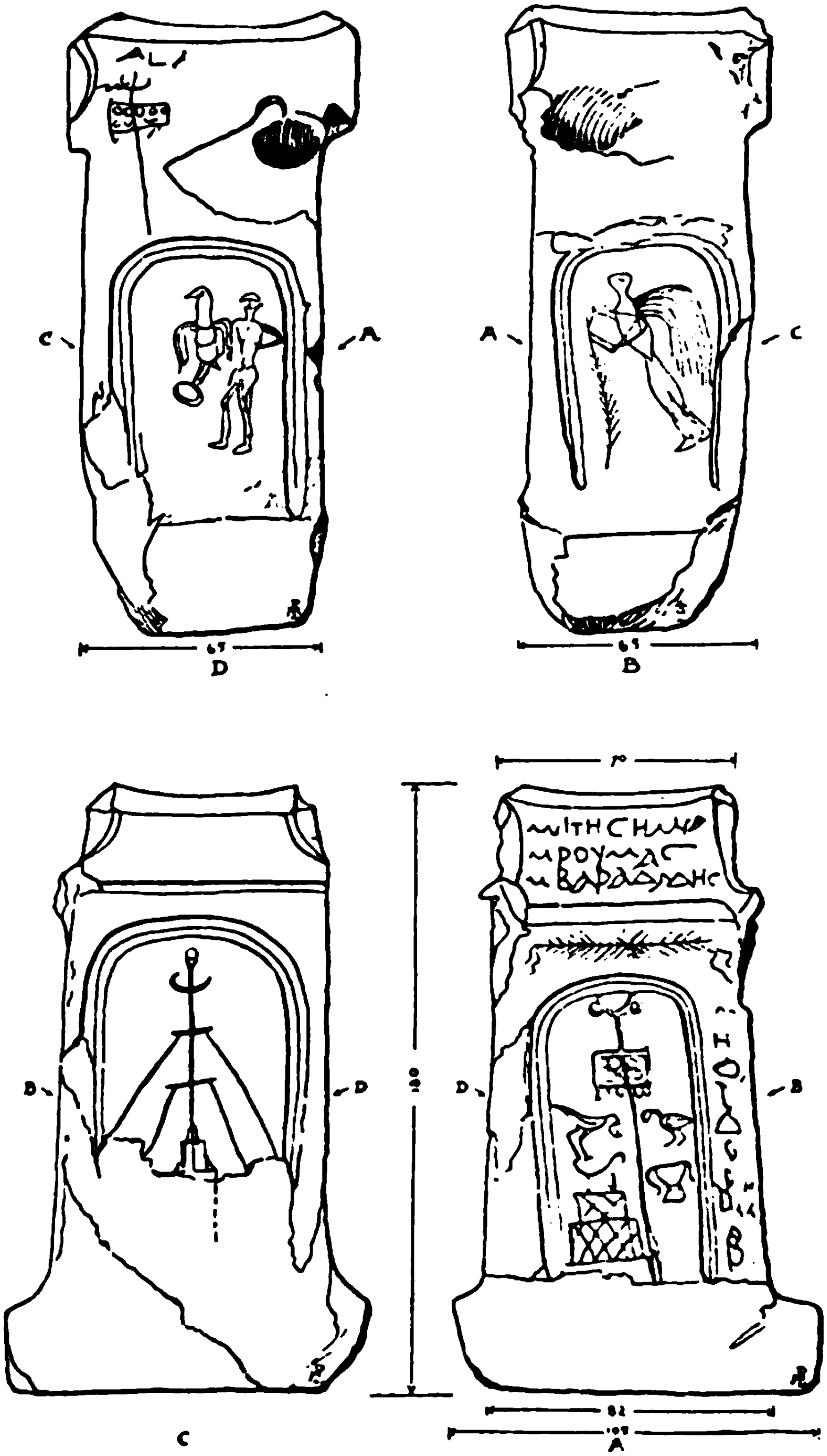


Fig. 1.—Thymiatherion from Dura.

was the headquarters of the III Parthica, was primarily designed to be used as fractional currency for this legion and the veterans. The two *vexilla* cannot be a mark of value, for the smaller denomination (e.g. No. 7) also has them.

The combination of meanings religious, military and municipal occurs again with the appearance of Sagittarius, the centaur with drawn bow who runs or stands on a number of these coins. He is the zodiacal sign between Scorpio and Capricorn, which latter the sun entered at the winter solstice. Throughout the East and particularly in the Euphrates-Tigris district the sun, moon, stars and constellations had been worshipped from remote antiquity. Not only did each of the signs of the zodiac rule for a portion of the year, but every person, every city, nation, district was under the protection of one of the twelve, which with its peculiar character influenced business and trade, brought good luck or bad, and in short directed the whole course of terrestrial life, the destinies of men and countries. In the second and third Christian centuries the worship of the stars and constellations gained new strength with the growth of astrology and the spread of Mithraism. Sagittarius was particularly appropriate to Mesopotamia as the country of mounted archers. To be sure, at the time of Rome's first contact with the Parthians, such troops were counted among the most conspicuous enemies of the Republic, but in the course of time, as the Romans recognized the weakness of their cavalry in the Parthian wars, the mounted archers of the East began to be recruited for the Roman army. The stationing at

Dura of the Cohors XX Palmyrenorum, composed of archers from Palmyra, is testimony of the growing importance of that type of cavalry in the Roman fighting forces.[50]

Not only is Sagittarius appropriate to the region in general and to the native troops, but there is good reason to believe that he may have been the special insignia of the Legio III Parthica. His combination with the *vexillum* (Nos. 5, 6, 14–17A) would suggest it, and a similar centaur was the sign of the sister legion II Parthica, as shown by the legionary coins[51] (Plate II, D, E [Gallienus]). In the latter case, it is true, the centaur holds a ball or club instead of a bow, but that may be a modification due to the legion's being stationed in the West where there was a tendency to identify Sagittarius with the centaur Chiron.[52] The close association of Roman forces in the East with local cults is illustrated by the wall painting from Dura[53] which shows the sacrifice of the tribune Julius Terentius, performing a *supplicatio* or *turis oblatio* before the three military gods of Palmyra, while the officers of the Cohors XX Palmyrenorum look on, the standard-bearer carrying the *vexillum;* at the side are the city goddesses of Dura and Palmyra (Plate XIV). It is possible,

[50] On *Sagitarii* in the Roman army see Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura*, pp. xl, liv, lv; Fiebiger, "Sagittarius" Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Witte, *Real-Encyclopädie* Reihe 2, I, 2, cols. 1743 – 1752 *R.E.* 1A, 1743ff; A. M. G. Little, *Dura Rep. IV*, p. 191; Rostovtzeff, *YaleClassical Studies*, V, p. 264, n. 140.

[51] Mattingly-Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage* V, 1, p. 94, Nos. 332–338 (Gallienus); V, 2, p. 441; p. 468, Nos. 60–64, p. 487; Nos. 269–271 (Carausius).

[52] Boll, *Sphaera*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 131; Boll-Bezold, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, Leipzig, 1926, p. 64.

[53] Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura*, Pl. L and p. 113. Also see Rostovtzeff, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft*, II, p. 9, and *Yale Classical Studies* V, p. 247, note 123.

but incapable of proof, that the three Parthian legions were all organized at the same time just before the winter solstice and therefore took Sagittarius as their symbol because they came into existence under that sign.

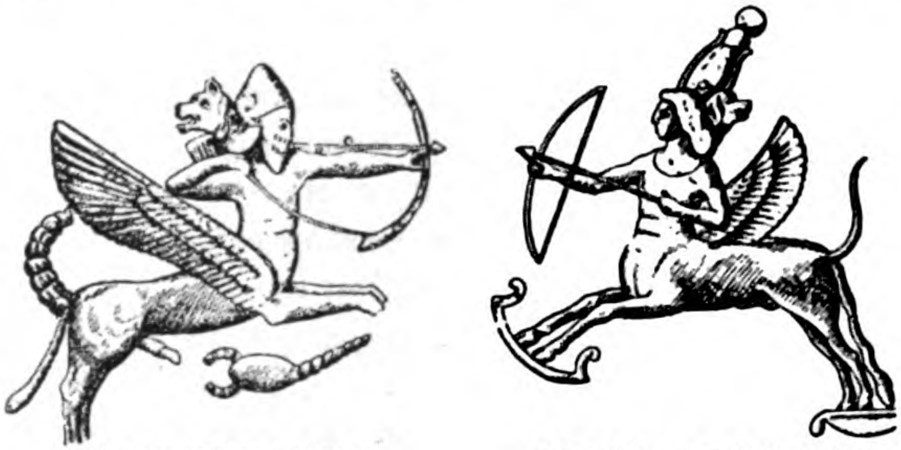
It is also argued that the centaur has direct reference to the founding of the colony of Rhesaena. Hill remarks[64] "It may be suggested that the zodiacal signs which play so important a part on the coins of Mesopotamian cities are, so to speak, genethliac, marking in each case the sign under which the colony was founded," and "Sagittarius is less probably the sign of the legion, or an allusion to a local force of mounted archers, than the zodiacal sign proper to Rhesaena. Singara seems also to have been founded under the same constellation." The colonial coins of Singara, like those of Rhesaena, show Sagittarius over the head of the city goddess.[65] But the fact that in Mesopotamia we can trace the Archer back to Babylonian times (Fig. 2) and that he appears on autonomous issues which do not mention the colonial title seems to me to indicate that his character is to be understood in a general sense and that the constellation did not first take on significance at the time of the later Greek "founding of the city," nor still later at the purely Roman "founding of the colony."

On two coins of Elagabalus (Nos. 14 and 15, perhaps 16 as well) there appears in the field of the reverse a head wearing turreted crown and veil or

[64] *B.M.C. Arabia*, pp. xciv and cxi.

[65] On the similar significance of Aries on the coins of Antioch see Wroth, *B.M.C. Galatia*, p. lix. See also Bellinger, *Yale Classical Studies* V, p. 153.

long hair. This might be the head of *Virtus legionis*[56] but is more probably Tyche, the tutelary goddess and personification of the city. Her picture, generally the full figure, is the most usual reverse type on Mesopotamian coins.[57] This raises



19) Skorpion + Schütze (babylonisch) (nach *Hinke, Boundary Stone* p. 98).

20) Der Schütze vom Tierkreis von Dendera (nach *Hinke, Boundary Stone* p. 99)

Fig. 2.—Sagittarius (Babylonian).

the question of the identity of the mint city. The Mesopotamian origin of the coins is certain, which means that the possibilities are: Anthemusias, Edessa, Carrhae, Nisibis, Singara and Rhesaena. Anthemusias can be left out of consideration entirely. The city minted very little and was much less important than other towns in the province. From Edessa, Caracalla, Elagabalus and Severus Alexander all issued coins of similar fabric to the *Vexillum-coins*. But the local coinage was so abundant as to need no supplement and it never displays a military type or inscription. The greater part of the Roman troops for whose use the *Vexillum-coin*.

[56] Domaszewski, *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, p. 36; *Numina castrorum* also wear the turreted crown, cf. *idem*, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, Trier, 1895, pp. 41 and 96.

[57] Cf. Bellinger, *The Eighth and Ninth Dura Hoards*, pp. 2–8.

were especially designed were not stationed at Edessa but farther to the east and south, in posts nearer the frontier. The same objections apply in the case of Carrhae. Nisibis struck coins continuously from the time of Caracalla to the Persian invasion in the reign of Maximinus, and later under Gordian III. The importance of this town as a military base and perhaps as the residence of the Procurator of Mesopotamia[58] would argue in favor of considering it as the mint city of the *Vexillum-coins*. The coins of Caracalla have the same sort of portrait, with the head over the eagle, but the appearance of Aries (as in Antioch) above the head of Tyche makes Nisibis an improbable candidate, for Aries never occurs on the *Vexillum-coins*. In Singara, on the other hand, Sagittarius occupies the place above Tyche and, on the small bronzes of Gordian III, is represented as standing before the *vexillum*, a type reminiscent of our No. 17 (Plate III, F, G). But, except for these, all of the coins of Singara have a completely local, colonial character and the civic mint operated during the reign of Gordian III only, whereas the *Vexillum-coins* are all prior to the Persian invasion. Moreover, the garrison of Singara was probably drawn from the Legio I Parthica[59] whereas the *Vexillum-coins* belong to the III Parthica.

We are therefore reduced to Rhesaena as a possible mint city and here the connection is close not only because of the presence there of Legio III Parthica,[60]

[58] Hasebroek, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisars Septimius Severus*, pp. 78f.

[59] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, col. 1436.

[60] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, col. 1539; Schachermeyr, *op. cit.*, col. 1161; Hasebroek, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

but because of the relation of the types to those of the city coinage about to be discussed.

The City Coinage

Like other places in Mesopotamia Rhesaena struck only copper in her own name. Compared to the output of other cities that of Rhesaena is small in the period from Caracalla to Severus Alexander. Of most types comparatively few examples are known; certain types are preserved only in single specimens. It is therefore not impossible that new coins may turn up to correct our present knowledge in many ways. The city coinage in general is much better than the really miserable *Vexillum-coins;* the two issues of Elagabalus show comparatively good workmanship, but the dies of this period—like those of Edessa and Carrhae—are simple and carelessly cut, the figures being sometimes very primitive and unskilful. In the portraits of the Emperors the die engravers confine themselves to differentiating the individuals by the beard, indicated by a few hasty lines and dots. Often this characteristic is missing so that we have the same difficulty in distinguishing Elagabalus from Caracalla that we met in the *Vexillum-coins.* Moreover the present condition of the known examples of these coins is for the most part only fair and often very poor.

AUTONOMOUS COINAGE

Caracalla, 211–217

19. >AKMA[Plate III

Bust r., laureate with cuirass and paludamentum.

Rev.]ΗΣΑΙ ΝΗΣ...

Female figure reclining l., in her r. hand palm, l. hand on bust, beneath, eagle flying r.; in field l. Γ

a) Berlin, 18 mm., 6.2 gr. = b) Paris, 19 mm.

>ΑΚΜΑ ΝΤ...[ΡΗΣΑΙ [ ]Ν

20.]ΚΜΑ [ ]ΩΝΙΝΟ

Same die as No. 19.

Rev. ΡΗΣΑ[

Similar to No. 19.

Vienna, 19 mm., 6.3 gr.

21.]ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟ[Plate III

Bust r., radiate with cuirass.

Rev. Same die as No. 20.

Berlin, 19 mm.

22.]ΑΝΤΩΝΙ[

Same die as No. 21.

Rev.]ΗΣ ΑΙΝΗΣ...

Similar to No. 19; to r. and l. of head, traces of a veil.

a) BMC (Rhesaena) 1, Pl. XVIII, 1; 20 mm., 6.16 gr. = b) Hunterian Collection, 1.

It is uncertain whether the bust of the Emperor is bearded or not, but the attribution of these pieces to Caracalla is hardly doubtful; their whole appearance, especially the style of the reverse, seems to indicate that these are the earliest civic coins of Rhesaena. The reverse inscription, unlike the contemporary coins of Carrhae and Edessa, bears no title beyond the name of the city.

The female figure holds an uncertain object, perhaps reeds,[61] or ears of corn,[62] or a palm branch in

[61] *BMC Arabia*, p. 125.
[62] Mionnet, V, p. 629, 184.

her raised right hand. The figure seems to be clothed though only the veil of No. 22 is distinguishable. The object on which she leans her left hand, taken by Mionnet to be an overturned urn, and by Hill to be a rock, appears on close inspection to be a bust supported on the back of a spread eagle—undoubtedly the bust of the Emperor which frequently appears in this fashion in the East at this time.[63] In spite of the unusual position, the figure is probably Tyche; Hill's suggestion that she is the nymph of the Fons Scabore of the Tabula Peutingeriana is inconsistent with the bust on the eagle. No such picture of a nymph occurs in Mesopotamia at this period.

The letter on the reverse is always Γ, though Hill conjectures S on the London example. We know as little of its significance as we do of that of the Δ on the *Vexillum-coins.*

The fact that the laureate and radiate obverse portraits are struck with the same reverse die shows that no difference in value was signified by the style of bust.

The piece which Mionnet (V, p. 629, 185) quotes from Sestini with a seated Tyche and an eagle in the field is apparently a misread coin of Severus Alexander like our No. 35.

Awkward and barbarous as these coins are their character is entirely that of autonomous Greek issues without Roman influence.

[63] Above, p. 18.

Elagabalus, 218–222

23. ΟΣΑΥΤ ΚΜΑ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙ Plate IV
Youthful bust r., laureate with cuirass and paludamentum.
Rev. ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗ ...Ν
Sagittarius r., with bow, below in field Δ
Berlin, 26 mm., ↓, 14.29 gr.

24.]Α ΑΝΤΩ[Plate IV
Same die as No. 23.
Rev. .ΗΣΑΙΝΗΣ[
Same type.
BMC p. 125, No. 4, Pl. XVIII, 4, 22 mm., 10.30 gr.

In fabric and style both these pieces resemble the first Rhesaena civic coins under Caracalla, but the relief is higher and the dies are more carefully cut than their predecessors or the succeeding issues under Severus Alexander.

The archer, here accompanied by no qualifying title or symbol, has in this case primarily a religious meaning to which his military character is subsidiary.

The coin of Elagabalus attributed to Rhesaena by Scholz,[64] which Hill considered very doubtful, has since been correctly attributed to Tyre by Kubitschek.[65]

Severus Alexander, 222–235

25. ΑΥΤΚΜ[(ΑΥΤΜΑΝ legible from earlier die)
Bust l., laureate, shield on l. shoulder.
Rev. .ΗΣΑ ΙΝΗ (ΕΣΣΑ and Tyche seated l. legible from earlier die).

[64] *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1901, p. 48, no. 101.
[65] *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1922, p. 160.

Tyche seated l. on rock with chiton, mural crown and veil; her l. hand on rock, on her r. hand eagle, at her feet, river god swimming l.

Berlin (under Caracalla) 28 mm.; ←, restruck.

26. ΑΥΤΚΜΑ ΣΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ Plate IV

Similar to No. 25; shield with large border and double volute.

Rev.]GIIIP

Similar to No. 25.

BMC 5, Pl. XVIII, 5; ↑, 29 mm., 15.19 gr.; both sides show traces of restriking.

27. ΣΑΥΤΚΜΑ [(ΑΡΜΟ legible from earlier die). Plate IV

Similar to No. 26; the volute somewhat smaller.

Rev. ΡΝΣΑΙΗΝΣ [

Similar to No. 25.

Berlin (under Caracalla) ↓, 25 mm.; restruck.

28. ΣΑVIIΜΛ (traces of inscription and laureate head r. visible from earlier die). Plate IV

Similar to No. 27 (same die?).

Rev. Ι ΣΛ ΙΗΝΣ (ΔΕΣΣ and Tyche seated l. visible from earlier die)

Similar.

Paris, 26 mm.; restruck.

29. Same die as No. 28, now cracked.

Rev. ΗΝΣΙ ΩΙΙ IEGII. .

Similar to No. 28 (same die?).

BMC 8, ↓, 27 mm., 7.91 gr.

30. ΛΛΕΞΑΝ ΔΡΟΣΛVΛ Plate IV

Similar to No. 25.

Rev. . . ΙΝΝΣΙ ΩΗ LEG IIIPS (bust l. visible from earlier die).

Similar to No. 26; eagle smaller.

BMC 6; ↖, 27 mm., 9.21 gr.; restruck.

31. Inscription illegible (traces of Tyche seated l. visible from earlier die).

Similar to No. 26.

Rev. IIIOΛIIIHΣIΩ [(MAΛEΞ and laureate bust r. visible from earlier die).

Similar to No. 30.

BMC 7, ↑, 27 mm., 9.18 gr.

32.] POΣΣEΛ (bust r. visible from earlier die). Plate IV

Similar to No. 30 but without shield.

Rev. . . .ΛIHΣIΩ NLEG IIIP

Similar to No. 30.

Paris, ↗, 24 mm.; restruck.

33. ΛEΞΛNΔ .OΣΣ (traces of earlier die).

Same die as No. 32.

Rev. IΠNHΣIΩ .EG

Similar to No. 26.

Berlin, ↘, 26 mm.; restruck.

34. AYTKM ΔPOΣ

Bust similar to No. 25 but radiate (?) and with shield.

Rev. HΣI ΩNLIIIP

Similar to No. 27.

Gotha (under Samosata), 26 mm.

35. ΛNΔPO ΣΣΔYT (NΛΣΛ visible from earlier die).

Bust r. laureate with paludamentum.

Rev. IIII INHΣIΩN GII

Similar to No. 26.

Paris, 26 mm.

36. Inscription illegible.
Same die as No. 35.
Rev. ΗΣΛΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ LEG IIIP
Similar to No. 30.
Paris, 26 mm.; restruck.

37. ΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ (ΑΥΣΕΑΛ and laureate head r. visible from earlier die). Plate V
Similar to No. 35 but larger head.
Rev. ΗΣΑ ΙΝΗΣ
Similar to No. 29.
Naples, 25 mm., 10.38 gr.; restruck.

38. ΑΥΑΛ
Bust r., laureate in cuirass.
Rev. ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙ NLEGIIIP
Similar to No. 31.
Berlin (under Caracalla) ↓, 24 mm.

39. ΛΟΛΝΛ
Similar to No. 38.
Rev. ΡΗΣΑΙΝ
Similar to No. 30.
Vienna, 25 mm., 8.4 gr.

40. ΑΛΕΞΑΝ ΔΡΟΣ ΣΕ ΑΥΤΚ Plate V
Similar to No. 38.
Rev. ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗ ΣΙΩΝ LE III PS
Similar to No. 31.
Hunterian Catalogue 2, Pl. LXXIV, 16, 24 mm.

41. ΑΥΤ ΑΝΔΡΟΣΣ Plate V
Bust r., laureate, in cuirass.
Rev. ΣΑΙΝΗΣ LEG IIIP
Similar to No. 31.
Collection Hollschek, Vienna, 25 mm., 9.2 gr.

42. ΟΣ ΣΕΙ (?) (ΕΞΑΝ, laureate head r. visible from earlier die). Plate V
Similar to No. 38.
Rev. ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩ LEG IIII PS
Similar to No. 31.

43. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ ΟΣΣΕΑΥΤΚ Plate V
Bust r., laureate.
Rev. ΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩ Η LG III PS (laureate head r. visible from earlier die).
Similar to No. 31.
Berlin, ↓ , 27 mm.; restruck.

44. Similar to No. 42.
Rev. ΑΙΣΝ
Similar to No. 31.
Berlin (under Caracalla), ↗, 23 mm.

The style and fabric of these coins leave much to be desired. There is great variety in the portrait of the Emperor, who is made to resemble Elagabalus or Caracalla or even Commodus but who never looks like the portrait on the imperial bronzes.

The complete reverse inscription was ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ LEG(IO) III P(arthica) S(everiana). Bilingual inscriptions are rare in ancient numismatics, but for this combination of the city name in Greek with the legion name in Latin there is an apt parallel in the Fresco of the Tribune at Dura where the personification of the city is labelled ΤΥΧΗ ΔΟΥΡΑΣ while the sacrificing officer is identified as IVL TERENTIVS TRIB (Plate XIV). The reverse inscriptions often contain errors and are sometimes so barbarous as to be unrecognizable. In particular, P appears as ꟼ, H as N or И, N as H, and sometimes both H and N are written simply II.

These errors are partly responsible for a number of false attributions. A coin with the legion's name and the addition of PIA (written in full) is mentioned by Hill as "supported by several writers."[66] On none of the examples here listed can this reading be confirmed or even made probable, so that for the present we must regard its existence as doubtful. Also the legend LEG III GAL cannot be proved for coins of Alexander or, indeed, for any Rhesaena coins.[67] Mionnet's first piece belongs to Sidon[68] or Tyre.[69] His second is indeed a coin of Severus Alexander from Rhesaena, but all of our coins, as we have seen, are so badly preserved that it seems to me more than probable that here too we have a misreading.[70] The coin described by Mionnet (V, p. 630, 190) with a founding scene without the *vexillum* is a coin of Decius (perhaps our No. 124) or of Herennius Etruscus. All of these uncertainties in attribution are due to the great differences in the portraits, the poor preservation, and the faulty or incomplete inscriptions.

[66] Mionnet, V, p. 630, 188. This piece may be identical with our No. 32. Of the PIA only the P shows; the rest of the word would be made of the Tyche's hand or perhaps from the rock on which she leans. Cf. Eckhel, III, p. 518 (quoting Pellerin, *Mélanges de diverses Médailles*, Paris, 1765, I, p. 348) and VIII, 489.

[67] Pellerin, *Mélanges*, I, p. 351; Eckhel, III, p. 519; Mionnet (who discards the reading), V, pp. 629f, 186 and 187 (both according to Vaillant). Cf. Hill, *Journal of Roman Studies*, IV, 1916, p. 166, and later *BMC, Arabia*, p. cx, note 3, where this legend is called "discredited."

[68] E.g., *BMC, Phoenicia*, p. 195, No. 301. We should also correct Eckhel (III, 371, and VIII, 489) who reads LEG III PAR on coins of Elagabalus and Faustina Jr. from Sidon. From this Ritterling (*op. cit.*, col. 1539) assumes the possibility of a settlement of veterans of the III Parthian Legion in Sidon and Chapot (*La frontière de l'Euphrate*, p. 77) agrees. It seems to me more probable that here too, owing to the usually poor preservation of these coins, there is a misreading, and that the correct inscription is LEG III GAL.

[69] *BMC, Phoenicia*, p. 274, Nos. 394–5.

[70] The coin described by him seems to be like our No. 28, but on none of our examples does the Emperor hold a lance in his right hand.

The seated female figure on the reverse is the τύχη πόλεως, the tutelary goddess and at the same time personification of the city,[71] together with the river god Chaboras. The Hellenistic-Semitic cult of Tyche was wide spread in the East. We find it in all of Syria and the bordering lands such as Trachonitis, Batanea, Hauran, Palmyra and Commagene as well as in Mesopotamia—that is, wherever Semitic and Arab tribes lived.[72] In the time to which our coins belong it was growing more universal and dominant. Among the many Tychae, that from Antioch on the Orontes especially was early widely known, owing largely to a statue by the sculptor Eutychides (Plate XV). Antioch copied this on her coinage and in this, as in many other respects, was imitated by her neighbors.[73]

Usually the City Goddess holds corn or fruit in her right hand as a symbol of fertility. Sometimes it is a palm,[74] and, in the case of Edessa, she holds a temple.[75] At Rhesaena she holds an eagle and we shall not be far wrong if we explain the eagle as a symbol of Roman domination and of the Roman army. Its association with the Tyche of the city indicates that Roman troops were quartered within the walls, which is confirmed by the legend on the coins. Eagle and legion insignia show that the

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[71] See above, pp. 28f.

[72] The literature on Tyche is uncommonly rich; here we shall only mention Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, *s.v.*; Humann und Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, 258ff.; Maas, *Tagesgötter*, 239ff.; Cumont, *Etudes Syriennes*, pp. 263–270. See also Domaszewski, *Rheinisches Museum*, 58 (1903), p. 543.

[73] Cf., Bellinger, *The Eighth and Ninth Dura Hoards*, pp. 2–8.

[74] *BMC*, *Galatia*, Pl. XX, 10, 13.

[75] *BMC*, *Arabia*, Pl. XVI, 1, 2.

garrison was important, and strengthen the theory that Rhesaena was the headquarters of the Third Parthian Legion. An exact parallel is to be found in the combination of Tyche and eagle on the coins of Samosata, which was the headquarters of the Legio XVI Flavia.[76]

One peculiarity is common to the coins of Severus Alexander here described and shows that they belong to a single group: the autonomous pieces, but not the *Vexillum-coins*, were restruck; that is, other coins were used as flans, and, as the striking was very careless, parts of the original type and inscriptions are often still visible. Nos. 25 and 28, on which part of the legend of Edessa is legible, and No. 31, which shows traces of a seated Tyche, prove, as we should expect, that the coins used were Mesopotamian, while on Nos. 31, 37 and 42 the inscription of the earlier die is that of Alexander. This, of course, makes it certain that our group of coins belongs to Alexander and that contemporary pieces were used for restriking. This phenomenon used to be explained on the theory that the coins were local issues, valid only in the territory of the mint city. But the evidence from Dura is conclusive that the coins of all the neighboring Mesopotamian cities, Edessa, Carrhae, Nesibis, Singara and Rhesaena, were current there and hence circulated outside their own territory. If in Rhesaena under Severus Alexander coins were restruck which were still current, then the urgent reason must lie in haste to produce the necessary Rhesaena coins. This kind of minting resulted in a primitive and inadequate city coinage.

[76] *BMC, Galatia*, pp. 120f, nos. 38–49, p. 133, Nos. 61–66; Ritterling, *op. cit.*, col. 1766.

The citizens did not have the proper equipment for producing flans from crude metal; when faced with a sudden scarcity of coins they chose (or were forced to choose) the expedient of restriking the coins of neighboring cities regardless of whether they carried the portrait of the reigning Emperor or of one of his predecessors.

The comparatively good style and better workmanship of Alexander's *Vexillum-coins*, which are not overstruck, suggest that they were minted in peaceful times, presumably in the first years of the reign, while the crude and hasty civic issues belong to the period of the Persian war when the Emperor himself, having taken command in Palmyra, advanced with the middle Roman division obliquely across Mesopotamia through Rhesaena to the Tigris.[77]

In choosing Rhesaena as headquarters for the Legio III Parthica the Romans were not influenced solely by its character as a border fortress; its proximity to Edessa was also a factor, for from Rhesaena the legion could watch over that untrustworthy kingdom as the III Gallica did over the holy city of Emisa or the X Fretensis over Jerusalem from the time of the Flavians.

TRAJAN DECIUS AND HIS FAMILY (249–251)

In the time between the death of Severus Alexander and the accession of Decius, notable changes

[77] Bosch showed in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1931, I–II, cols. 426f., that most of the cities in Asia Minor that put military *signa* on their coins lay on the main roads and struck them under Emperors who carried on wars in the East, and that these coins have a direct connection with troop movements and mustering in the Parthian wars.

took place in the fortunes of Rhesaena as well as of other Mesopotamian cities.

When Maximinus (235–238) was proclaimed successor to Alexander at Mainz, part of the Roman forces—the cavalry and archers from Osrhoene—revolted and set up a rival emperor.[78] The revolt was suppressed, but Maximinus' interest was devoted to the northern provinces of the empire. Mesopotamia and Syria were thereby laid open to increasingly dangerous attacks of the Persians. Nesibi and Carrhae were both lost[79] and Dura was threatened.[80] The administration of Edessa as a Roman colony was discontinued at this time and the kingdom under the native dynasty reëstablished.[81] At this time, too, a revolution took place in Palmyra which, through the conquests of Ardashir and Shapur I as well as the loss of its trade routes, was forced into a Persophile policy.[82] What happened to Rhesaena, which lay still nearer the border, we are not told, but from the fate of the other Mesopotamian cities we may conclude that it also fell into Persian hands. There are no coins of Maximinus from our city, nor from any other Mesopotamian mint nor from Antioch.

Under Gordian III (238–244) conditions in Mesopotamia improved for the Romans. The Emperor himself conducted the war against the Persians, and achieved victories at Carrhae, Rhesaena and Nesibi.

[78] Herodian VII. 1. 9. Maximinus may have been prefect of Mesopotamia (Niese-Hohl, *Grundriss der römischen Geschichte*[5], 1923, p. 369, note 3) or *dux ripae* (J. F. Gilliam, "The Dux Ripae at Dura," *TAPA*, 1941, pp. 172f.).

[79] *Yale Classical Studies*, V, p. 145.

[80] *Dura Rep. IV*, pp. 112–114.

[81] *Yale Classical Studies*, V, p. 146.

[82] Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura*, p. lix.

The military colony of Edessa was reëstablished and Abgar X deposed in 242. The mints of Carrhae, Nesibis and Singara were reopened. Only from Rhesaena do we find no coins of Gordian, from which we may conclude that this colony was the only one which was not yet reinstated in its former position. Under Gordian's murderer and successor, Philip the Arab (244–249), the only coins of our province which we know are from Nesibi.

At the accession of the energetic Illyrian Decius, a ruler mounted the throne of the Caesars who, in spite of his provincial origin, had an old Roman character and conservative ideas. His political program was expressed in his adoption of the name of the great Trajan, renowned for his friendship with the Senate. The new reign is famous for the fierce battle with the barbarians on the lower Danube; about internal affairs we hear of extensive reorganization, but unfortunately our information is much too slight and too general. Under Decius only the mints of Edessa and Rhesaena were active in our district, and at his death they too closed—the last Roman mints in Mesopotamia.

These last colonial issues of the province are very dissimilar. Edessa struck only one type of small bronze,[83] weighing ca. 4.4 gr. and with a diameter of ca. 16–18 mm., unimportant and miserable pieces. They show a crude portrait of the emperor; the bust of Tyche on the reverse and the inscriptions are cut by the same inexpert hand. The coins of Rhesaena form a great contrast, far superior not only to the contemporary coins of Edessa but also to the earlier

[83] *BMC Arabia*, pp. 117f., Nos. 166–172, Pl. XVII, 5, 6.

Rhesaena coinage. There are six clearly marked successive issues of the largest denomination and two smaller denominations. So rich and uniform, yet varied a series is found nowhere else in Mesopotamia at any time. It is surprising how carefully and clearly executed all of these late pieces are, especially the last issues; better, one might almost say, than the imperial coins. The squarish flans which appear commonly on the latter at this time are not found at Rhesaena. Here the flans are not cast nor made by cutting up a metal band and breaking off the corners to get an approximate circle (a method still in use in the Middle Ages), but by the much more expedient method of stamping them out from a band or sheet of metal. Here also an effort at exact portraiture is made; many dies are the work not only of a trained but a gifted hand. The size of the flans and dies is uniform, the striking is well centered and the relation of obverse to reverse is fixed.

Inscriptions

On all of the coins of Rhesaena from this time the inscriptions are agreeably arranged, the letters in general carefully cut and evenly space. Blundered inscriptions are extremely rare. I could find only two cases where letters were omitted, in No. 122: ΣΕΠ ΚΟΛ ΡΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ L III P and No. 133: ΣΕΠ ΟΛ ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ L III P; the blundered name of the empress does not belong here. Among 35 obverses and 17 reverses, in all 152 different dies, this is surely a small number, indicating most careful workmanship. In Nesibis and Singara, too, there has been but a single *lapsus scalptoris* found so far.

Both the obverse and reverse inscriptions appear in various forms, from which a definite order and sequence is recognizable. By far the most numerous of the large coins with the portrait of the emperor have the obverse inscription in two principal forms. One AVT(οκράτωρ) KAI(σαρ) ΓAI(ος) MEΣ(σιος) KY(ίντος) TPA(ιανὸς) ΔEKIOΣ ΣEB(αστός) on Nos. 45–79, 90–93, 120–124 in large letters, together with that type of imperial portrait which we shall later call "Bust" or obverse **A**, **B**, **C**, **E** and **F**. This inscription, for the sake of simplicity, we shall call the "short" form; also occasionally it is somewhat altered, namely, AYTKΓMEKYTPAIANOΣ ΔEKIOΣ ΣEB combined with obverse **C** (see Nos. 81–83, 94, 103–105, 133–135).

On the greater part of the coins the name of the emperor does not appear in the above mentioned "short" form but as AYT(οκράτωρ) K(αῖσαρ) Γ(άιος) ME(σσιος) KY(ίντος) ΔEKIOΣ TPAIA-NOΣ ΣEB(αστός) (Nos. 80, 84–89, 95–102, 106–119, 125–132, 136–144); this second form with Traianus at the end of the name we shall call the "longer" obverse inscription. It is associated with busts **B**, **C** and **D**. Aside from the wording this second inscription differs from the first in being written in smaller, more attractive letters. In all, the coins of Decius fall into two groups according to the obverse inscription; those with the "short" name and larger letters and those with the "longer" name in small letters.

The reverse inscriptions, in general uniform, can also be divided into two groups. One part has: ΣEΠ(τιμία) PHΣAINHΣIΩN L(egio) III P(arthica)

(on Nos. 45–79, 157–168) and this form, also in larger letters, we shall again call the "shorter" (reverse) inscription. The other coins read: ΣΕΠ(τιμία) ΚΟΛ(ωνία) ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ L(egio) III P(arthica) (see Nos. 80–144, 169–192); the longer inscription is again in smaller letters, and here is added the colonial title. Both times, however, we find the two languages which we earlier noted on the coins of Severus Alexander, that is, the legion name in Latin and city's name and colonial title in Greek. The combination is unusual; other cities, such as Carrhae, in similar circumstances use purely Latin inscriptions with longwinded titles. At all events the language question in Mesopotamia does not seem to have been simple. Of the hundreds of colonial cities there are only ten whose coins invariably give the city name and colonial title in Greek. Of these eight lie in the Hellenized East, five of them in Mesopotamia.[84]

Comparing the obverse inscriptions with the reverse on our coins, we find that in general the short obverse inscription is combined with the short reverse, and, conversely, the longer obverse is usually associated with the longer reverse inscription, making the two following principal groups:

Obv. ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΙ ΜΕΣ ΚΥ ΤΡ ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΣΕΒ

Rev. ΣΕΠ ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ L III P

and

Obv. ΑΥΤ Κ Γ ΜΕ ΚΥ ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ

[84] Head, *Historia Numorum*², p. 932: Thessalonica, Tyana, Antioch on the Orontes, Emisa, Philippopolis Arabiae, Carrhae, Edessa, Nesibi, Rhesaena, Singara.

Rev. ΣΕΠ ΚΟΛ ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ L III P

There are also a few coins where the short obverse written in large letters is combined with the long reverse inscription in small letters. The two principal, and in themselves quite uniform, groups are unquestionably separate in time. Before, however, we take up the question of which is the earlier, we shall consider the inscription on the other large bronzes.

The name of the empress, Herennia Cupressenia Etruscilla, is always abbreviated on our coins to Ἑρεννία Ἐτρουσκίλλα. The second part is often very corrupted and we find: 1) ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑΝ ΑΙΤΡΩΣΚΙΛΛΑΝ (Nos. 157, 161, 162, 164); 2) ΩΤΡΑΣΚΑΛΛΑΝ (Nos. 158–160, 163, 165); 3) ΕΡΕΝΝΙ(αν) ΑΤΡΟΥΣΚΙΛΛΑΝ ΣΕΒ(αστήν)(Nos. 166, 167).

These forms appear only with the short reverse inscription; they belong, therefore, all to one group. We have here the accusative; on the other coins the names are always in the nominative case. The correct form of the empress' name appears in: 4) ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑ ΕΤΡΟΥΣΚΙΛΛΑ ΣΕΒ(αστή) (Nos. 169–177) and occurs only on coins with the longer reverse inscription. So the coins of the empress also fall into two groups corresponding to those of the emperor. In the one the name varies:

Obv. ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑΝ ΑΙΤΡΩΣΚΙΛΛΑΝ ΣΕΒ or
ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑΝ ΩΤΡΑΣΚΑΛΛΑΝ ΣΕΒ or
ΕΡΕΝΝΙ ΑΤΡΟΥΣΚΙΛΛΑΝ ΣΕΒ

Rev. ΣΕΠ ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ L III P

The second is regularly:

Obv. ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑ ΕΤΡΟΥΣΚΙΛΛΑ ΣΕΒ

Rev. ΣΕΠ ΚΟΛ ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΣΟΝ L III P

The coins with the portrait of Herennius, the older son of Decius (no coins in Rhesaena were struck for the younger, Hostilianus) call him ΓΑΙ(ος) ΜΕΣ(σιος)ΕΡ(έννιος)ΕΤΡΟΥΣΚΙΛΛΙΟΣ ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΣΕΒ(αστός) (Nos. 178–180), always combined with the longer reverse inscription in small letters, corresponding to the second group of coins for the emperor and empress. This name for the heir is incorrect and one of the many variations which occurred in the provinces for the correct name, Quintus Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius. The correct form of the name appears on the coins where he is associated with his father, which are earlier than those issued for him alone. On the coins for Herennius alone (issue "e") his correct name was no longer used although it was certainly known from issue "d."[85]

Also the joint coins fall in the same second group. The emperor and his wife are called: ΑΥΤ(οκράτωρ) Κ(αῖσαρ) ΓΑ(ιος) ΜΕ(σσιος) Κ(υίντος) ΤΡΑ(ιανὸς) ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΣΕΒ(αστὸς) ΕΡΕΝ(νία) ΕΤΡΟΥCΚΙΛΛΑ ΣΕΒ(αστή) (Nos. 181–184) on which the correct name of the empress appears. The emperor and his heir are called ΑΥΤ(οκράτωρ) Κ(αῖσαρ) Γ(άιος) Μ(έσσιος) Κ(υίντος) ΤΡ(αιανὸς) ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΣΕΒ(αστὸς) ΚΥ(ίντος) ΕΡ(έννιος) ΕΤΡ(ουσκίλλιος) Μ(έσσιος) ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ (Nos. 185–192). All of these coins are combined with the longer reverse inscription and have small letters on both sides.

What is the chronological sequence of the various forms of Decius' name on coins outside of Rhesaena?

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[85] Mionnet's description of a piece with ΕΤΡΟΥΣ ΚΟΕΝΤΟΣ (V, p. 635, 212) rests on an easily recognizable misreading.

According to Mattingly-Salisbury [86] the antoniniani of our ruler have three forms of obverse legend:

1. IMP TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG
2. IMP CMQ TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG
3. IMP CAE TRA DEC (DECIVS) AVG

given here in their chronological order.

Wittig ("C. Messius Quintus Traianus Decius," Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real Encyclopädie*, XV, 1, cols. 1244–48) gives the following order for the variants in the names and titles of Decius:

(1) Imp. Caes. C. Messius Quintus (Wittig III)
(2) Imp. Caes. C. Messius Quintus Decius Traianus (Wittig II)
(3) Imp. Caes. C. Messius Quintus Traianus Decius (Wittig I)

Of these there appear on the coins of Rhesaena, as we have seen, the forms (2) and (3). The form (2) (Wittig II) corresponds to our longer inscription; form (3) (Wittig I) corresponds to the shorter. From a consideration of the various reverse types there are a number of reasons, as we shall see, which force us to assume that the shorter reverse legend is the earlier, and the longer, the later, just the opposite from Wittig.[87] We now come, through a comparison of the various obverses of Decius ("A"–"F"), of Etruscilla ("G"–"I"), of Herennius ("K"), and of the joint coins ("L," "M") on the one hand, and sequence of reverses ("a"–"f") on the other, to the following review: (See Table 3.)

[86] "A find of Roman coins from Plevna," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1924, pp. 219f.

[87] Wittig also points to the later appearance of Formula II (*op. cit.*, col. 1248): "In anderen Städten behauptet sich Gruppe II zäher,

According to this the large coins of Rhesaena under Decius, judged by the reverse legend, fall into two principal groups:

Group 1. (reverses a–c)	Inscription in larger letters. Shorthand form of the emperor's name. Name of the empress blundered. Shorter reverse inscription. Coins for Herennius and joint coins missing.
Group 2. (reverses d–f)	Inscription in smaller letters.[88] Longer form of emperor's name.[88] Correct name for empress. Longer reverse inscription. Coins for Herennius. Joint coins for Decius and Etruscilla, and for Decius and Herennius.

In the discussion of the portraits and the reverse types we shall come upon further characteristic differences.

Imperial Portraits

As we mentioned earlier, the portraits on these coins of Rhesaena are cut with a care not practiced

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ohne dass wir genau feststellen könnten, wann die einzelnen Münzen geschlagen sind. Das Verhältnis ist wie folgt:

Stadt	Anzahl der Münzen	Gruppe I	Gruppe II
Tarsus (Cilicia)	10	–	10
Maeonia (Lydia)	1	–	1
Antioch (Syria)	9	4	5
Rhesaena (Mesop.)	9	7	2
Ephesus (Ionia)	4	1	3

It would be interesting to determine the chronological sequence from the dies for the other cities listed here by Wittig.

Wittig's Formula IV does not appear at Rhesaena.

[88] The pieces with the obverse "E," on which the old obverse die (from Group 1) was used, are exceptions.

earlier in Mesopotamia. It is most noticeable in the high relief similar to that on imperial coins, and in the careful modeling and striving for naturalism. Finally they remind us that the die-cutters of imperial times in all probability used portrait busts as models for their coins, both in the capital and in the provinces. The portrait busts which were always sent out [89] to the provinces from the capital or residence city at the accession of a new Emperor were at the disposal of the provincial die-cutter. Before these busts arrived, that is at the beginning of a new reign, the portraits on the new coins are uncertain and even the imperial coins frequently resemble the former ruler. This variety and uncertainty in the emperor's likeness is noticeable here too in the first issue.

Like the sculptor and die-cutter of imperial coins (Plate VI, A, B), the Rhesaena artist—from his finished work he deserves this name—portrayed the emperor with strongly protruding, slightly hooked nose, with deep-set eyes, often drawn in great detail, and with the characteristic lines about the mouth, the cheeks and especially the forehead, the latter slightly receding; on the temples and at the back of the neck short-cut thick hair is visible. The chin is round and energetic. All in all, an excellent portrait

[89] Domaszewski in *Rheinisches Museum*, 58 (1903) p. 389, has cited two documents for just this period. The one passage is from Herodian VIII 6, 2. The second document is the inscription *Bull. de Corresp. Hell.* 1886, 227 = I.G.R.R. III, 481 = Dessau 8870; quoted also by Rostovtzeff, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft*, II, p. 364, note 24.

of the emperor who was then in his sixtieth year.[90] Naturally not all of the portraits here are equally good. Especially does the portrait vary, as we have mentioned, on the coins of the first group with short legend and large letters; the coins of the second group with longer inscription and more elegant lettering are more uniform and offer certain dies which can be compared favorably with the Imperial coins (Plate VI, B).[91]

We shall designate the different types of portrait with capital letters.

Obverse **A**: Bust right, laureate, cloak on left shoulder, seen from back

Obverse **B**: Bust right, laureate, paludamentum and cuirass, seen from back

Obverse **C**: Bust right, radiate, paludamentum and cuirass, seen from back

Obverse **D**: Bust right, radiate, paludamentum and cuirass, seen from front

Obverse **E**: Bust left, radiate, paludamentum and cuirass, seen from front

Obverse **F**: Bust left, laureate, paludamentum and cuirass, seen from front

Diagrammatically these can be expressed as follows:

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[90] Wittig, *op. cit.*, col. 1250. The sculpture mentioned there, the admirable bust in the Capitoline Museum, (Plate VI, A) Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, Leipzig, 1912–13, I. p. 455, was identified from the coins. Delbrück, *Antike Porträts* LXVII; Stückelberg, *Die Bildnisse der römischen Kaiser*, Pl. 98.

[91] See e.g. our No. 133 and also Bernhart, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde* Pl. 16, Nos. 7, 8; a less good example in Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf römischen Münzen*, Leipzig, 1892, Pl. III, 78; Gnecchi, *Medaglioni Rom.*, III, Pl. 161, 1–4.

IMPERIAL PORTRAIT

<table>
<tr><td colspan="5">To the right</td><td>To the left</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">From the back</td><td colspan="3">From the Front</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Laureate</td><td colspan="3">Radiate</td><td>Laureate</td></tr>
<tr><td>Not clothed</td><td colspan="5">With paludamentum and cuirass</td></tr>
<tr><td>A</td><td>B</td><td>C</td><td>D</td><td>E</td><td>F</td></tr>
</table>

We now know, as we have already remarked, six different, successive issues of the coins of Decius at Rhesaena, which are distinguished by their reverse types. It has now been ascertained that of the obverse types **A–F** just described, in each of the six issues usually several obverses were used contemporaneously; we find as many as four obverses in one and the same issue, that is, with the same reverse type. Moreover, as die comparisons prove, in the different issues new obverses were not cut for the new reverse types but obverse dies of earlier issues continued in use. So we often find identical obverse dies used with two different reverse types, and single, particularly lasting obverses with as many as three reverses. It is clear that such issues as are struck with the same obverse are closely related in time, and probably followed immediately one after the other. If an obverse die used in several issues was very much worn, then, as can frequently be proved, it was not simply thrown out, but was recut and used again; only when completely worn out was it replaced by a

new one which naturally preserved the same obverse type. Later we shall follow the single dies of our obverse types **A–F** more closely through the six issues.

What we have said about the portrait of the emperor is also true of that of the empress. In general carefully cut, it also varied in the first group (with blundered name and short reverse inscription). In the second group, with the correct name and longer legend in smaller letters, we find a fixed portrait, which agrees with that on the imperial coins (Plate VI, C). By the style of hair-dressing and attributes, the busts can be divided into three types:

Obverse **G**: Bust right, draped, wearing stephane, and braid brought forward over the crown of the head, on crescent

Obverse **H**: Bust right, draped, wearing stephane

Obverse **I**: Bust right, draped, wearing stephane, on crescent

The coins of Herennius show:

Obverse **K**: Bust right, laureate, paludamentum and cuirass, seen from back; corresponding to the emperor's type **B**. Of good workmanship, the portrait of the twenty-year old young man shows a certain family likeness.

The joint coins of the emperor and empress, also those with the heir, naturally, owing to the much smaller size of the portraits, cannot show the same amount of character and detail. Nevertheless, here too we find similarly full modeling and an effort to reproduce the individual features. Emperor and empress appear together on:

Obverse **L**: Facing each other are the busts of the emperor (**C**), right, and the empress (**I**), left.

The last of the obverse types is:

Obverse **M**: The busts of the emperor (**D**), to right, and of Herennius (**K**), head bare, to left, facing each other.

TYPES AND CHRONOLOGY

The large coins

There are six issues bearing the following types:

- **a**: Tyche seated left
- **b**: Temple with roof
- **c**: Temple without roof
- **d**: Concordia
- **e**: Founder scene
- **f**: Fortuna standing

Each issue was struck for a certain time, then it was replaced by another.[92] Because of numerous die-pairs we are able to determine the exact sequence, as shown in Table IV where the obverse dies are numbered **A1** to **M1**, the reverse **a1** to **f23**. The total of 35 obverse and 117 reverse dies shows that, as usual, the life of the obverse die, fixed in the anvil, was greater than that of the reverse which received the full force of the blow in being struck.

In spite of a relatively abundant coinage, the mint of Rhesaena under Decius seems to have been a single establishment. It was, indeed, only a small

[92] The question arises whether a single issue was used only once or whether, as in the case of the imperial coins, from time to time the earlier type was used again. In Rhesaena it seems highly probable that the former was the case. At least we know of no coin which indicates a second use.

local mint, quite different from Antioch where under Philip they began to distinguish the *officinae* by marking the obverse dies.[93] Yet it is to be noted that on the coins of Etruscilla, Herennius and the joint portraits, that is, for obverses **I**, **K**, **L**, and **M** in the second period, the same reverse die appears with different obverses:

d13 with **I**13 and **M**1
d15 with **I**4 and **M**1
e33 with **K**1 and **L**1
f21 with **I**3 and **L**1

None of these occurs with an obverse of Decius though in the earlier issues obverses of Decius and of Etruscilla use the same reverse die:

a1 with **B**1 and **G**1
b1 with **A**1 and **G**1
b3 with **A**3, **B**1 and **G**1
c2 with **C**1 and **H**1

Perhaps in the later issues, one part of the *officina* was used for the coins of Decius, another for the rest.

First Period

Type a

Tyche, wearing turreted crown, veil, chiton, and mantle, seated left on a rock, in her right hand ears of corn, her left resting on the rock; above, an eagle, with outstretched neck, standing left holding a filleted wreath in its beak; at her feet the half figure of a river-god swimming left.

It has already been suggested, in the discussion of the inscriptions, that the types bearing the short form are earlier in date than those with the long form.

[93] Bellinger, *The Sixth, Seventh and Tenth Dura Hoards* p. 16.

The reverses with the short inscription (**a**–**c**) are here classed as belonging to the First Period, those with the long inscription (**d**–**f**) to the Second. This division is corroborated by the dies shown in Table IV.

Type **a** is connected with Mesopotamian coins before the Persian invasion and parallels earlier coins of Nisibis and Singara. Nothing is more likely than that when beginning to coin in the name of a new ruler the mint, not having any other particular model, used a common and accessible type. Moreover, the following issues are so bound together through die-couplings that they cannot well be separated, and **a** must be put at the beginning of the series. In at least one characteristic detail this representation is distinguished from its predecessors in Mesopotamia: the native constellation has lost its place above the head of the Tyche, this place now being usurped by the Roman eagle which earlier, on the coins of Severus Alexander, the goddess held in her right hand. As the bird of the highest of Roman national gods and as the symbol of the Roman legions who dedicated their temples to him, the eagle on this and the later issues from Rhesaena assumes the function of the autochthonous symbols. Rome's legions, and no longer a local god, are responsible for the protection of the city. The rôle of Sagittarius as an independent coin type is over; he appears only once more and then as a modest symbol. Thus in these eastern coins we recognize the tendencies of the reign of Decius to shut out the foreign gods, to elevate the state cult, and to strengthen the religion of the fathers.[94]

[94] Wittig, *op. cit.*, cols. 1279f.

On one coin (No. 52) we find on each side of the seated figure a star (eight-pointed?) which, like the goddess herself, is reminiscent of older native prototypes.[95] Perhaps these stars emphasize the meaning of Tyche as the "Gad," the tutelary deity of the city.[96]

Type **b**

Temple left seen in perspective, showing façade and right side, having roof on which an acroterion is sometimes visible; in pediment a bust (?); within the temple, eagle with closed wings seated left; in exergue, between two palm branches, half figure of River-god.

Judging by the number of specimens preserved, the output was increased with issue **b**. Obverse dies **B** and **C** of the emperor continued in use. **A** appears as a new obverse type with this issue only; **F** is continued with type **c**. We know of no pieces with **E**, but it is reasonable to assume that they exist. On coins of the empress we find the obverse die of issue **a** again. Herennius has no coins of this type, nor are there any joint coins with this reverse. There are 11 reverse dies of type **b**.

The work of two hands can be distinguished. One temple (Nos. 53–55, 56, 59) is very poorly drawn with steep roof and one step; the number of columns varies from 4 to 7; the eagle, seen from the side, appears behind the first column. The second, and presumably later, representation (Nos. 57, 60–62) shows the temple with 5 or 6 columns with flat roof and two

[95] *BMC, Arabia*, Edessa, Pl. XV, 10, 11, 13, 14; XVI, 1–3.
[96] Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura*, p. 98, note 1.

steps: the eagle seen more from the front; everything in finer, more careful drawing. The same improved workmanship recurs on the next issue, c, with the roofless temple.

In the eastern part of the Roman Empire, representations of temples often occur on coins. In Mesopotamia, aside from Rhesaena, the type is used at Carrhae,[97] Edessa,[98] and Nisibis.[99] Among these the front view of the façade is most common; on our pieces the die-cutter tried a perspective with less success than the temple on the coins of Heliopolis of Septimius Severus and Philip.[100]

We may assume that our temple is the sanctuary of the standard of the legionary camp or of some other official Roman cult in Rhesaena. We can draw no conclusion as to the size of the building; it might be only a modest chapel. The cult statue, which a few years earlier in Nisibis was still the native Tyche, is here the symbol of Rome, the eagle, doubtless representing the emblem of the legion, which together with the portrait of the emperor and other military standards, was worshipped in the camp sanctuary.[101]

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[97] *Hunterian Collection*, p. 301, No. 2, Pl. LXXVIII, 24 (Sept. Severus).

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 304, Nos. 1 and 2, Pl. LXXVII, 30, 31; *BMC, Arabia*, pp. 91f, Nos. 2, 3, Pl. XII, 7, 8 (Wael); as attribute on pp. 101f. Nos. 69–71; p. 103, No. 79; pp. 109f., Nos. 115–121 (Elagabalus, Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea).

[99] *BMC, Arabia*, pp. 122–124, Nos. 17–25 (Philip) and Nos. 27–32 (Otacilla).

[100] *BMC, Galatia*, p. 290, Nos. 2–4, Pl. XXXVI, 2, p. 293, Nos. 18–20, Pl. XXXVI, 7.

[101] For other representations of the eagle on Eastern coins, see *BMC, Galatia*, Laodicea ad Mare, p. 260, Nos. 95f., Pl. XXX, 14, p. 262, No. 111, Pl. XXXI, 7. The two birds on a coin of Damascus are also surely eagles, *ibid.*, p. 287, No. 26, Pl. XXXV, 3, where the description of Wroth (followed by Head in *Historia Numorum*[2], p. 784) reads "a wicker or wire cage through the open door of which

Type c

Temple similar to **b**, usually on two steps; five to six columns, but without roof; pediment open, therefore without bust.

Obverse **A** no longer occurs. **B** and **F** are each used once with this reverse; **C** and **E** are plentiful. The coins of the empress are struck in part with die **H1** and in part with **G1**, which shows a crescent behind the shoulders of the empress. The former has the inscription ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑΝ ΩΤΡΑΣΚΑΛΛΑΝ ΣΕΒ, the latter ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑΝ ΑΙΤΡΩΣΚΙΛΛΑΝ ΣΕΒ. Besides these, two new dies, **I1** and **I2**, come into use. The former has the third blundered name: ΕΡΕΝΝΙΤΡΟVΣΚΙΛΛΑ ΣΕΒΑ; the latter has the name correctly for the first time: ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑ ΕΤΡΟVΣΚΙΛΛΑ ΣΕΒ. There are no issues for this reverse for Herennius or with joint portraits.

The same die, **c2**, is used for the emperor (No. 66) and for his wife (No. 165) and **c3** is combined with two different obverses of the emperor (Nos. 67 and 75).

These three first reverse types are connected not only by the reverse inscription, but also by the fact that the portraits of the emperor and his wife are varied and inaccurate, as distinguished from the uniformity of the second group, **d**, **e**, and **f**. In the first group the portrait of Decius sometimes shows great similarity to Philip, his immediate predecessor; compare type **E** or the first dies of **C** with the imperial coins of Philip's last years. This is an im-

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a cock emerges." At Emesa, *ibid.*, p. 239, No. 15, Pl. XXVII, 12, the eagle may be connected with Elagabal (*ibid.*, p. lxv). At Philadelphia, *BMC, Lycaonia*, p. 127, Nos. 1f., Pl. XXIII, 1, it may be connected with Zeus (*ibid.*, p. lxiii).

portant point in determining which of the groups was earlier. Obviously at the time of the first issue for the new emperor there was as yet no authentic portrait of him available. This was imported later, perhaps only in time to serve as a model for the fourth issue, **d**.

Often the portraits in the first group are clumsily cut, while the awkward drawing of the temple and the stiff figures of the seated goddess show a marked difference from the fine execution of **d**, **e**, and **f**.

To this should be added the fact that the dies used in the first group, often with different reverses, all disappear in the second group with the exception of **E1**, which still continued in use in issues **d** and **e**, thereby giving certain proof of the connection. The absence of coins for Herennius and of joint coins and the uncertain and erroneous forms of Etruscilla's name all point to the priority of the group consisting of **a**, **b**, and **c**.

Second Period

Type d

Two female figures standing, joining right hands, each wearing turreted crown, chiton and mantle, between them a lighted altar, usually in the form of a column; beside the right-hand figure, the Centaur Sagittarius shooting his bow, springing right; beside the left-hand figure, a statue, to right on a column; in the field above, eagle with spread wings and filleted wreath in beak; in exergue, half figure of River-god swimming or a wreath between two palms.

Obverse **E** with its single die used in the preceding issues is continued with **d** and **e** though they use the

long inscription formula while **E** has the short one. Obverse **B**, on the other hand, here appears for the last time with a new inscription. According to type it belongs to the first group, according to inscription to the second. Both these obverses may be considered transitional, and proof that **d** is the earliest issue of the second group. **C** is now the principal obverse type of Decius, appearing with completely new and occasionally excellently cut dies. Together with **D**, which here appears for the first time, it continues in use in the following issue. Etruscilla's types **G** and **H** now disappear while **I** has new dies **I3** and **I4**. With reverse **d** now begin joint coins of the emperor and his elder son who is here still called ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. This obverse, **M1**, continues with the succeeding reverse **e**, so that the title ΚΑΙΣΑΡ occurs contemporaneously with coins on which Herennius is already ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.

In Table IV we have labelled this reverse "Concordia," but not in the sense of Concordia as a single personification, as she appears so often on Roman imperial coins. In both of the female figures with turreted crowns we must recognize definite City-goddesses, who, under the protection of the Roman eagle, celebrate and strengthen their concord, the *ὁμόνοια τυχῶν*, before the altar, "se donnant la main pour figurer symboliquement l'entente cordiale de ces cités," as Cumont says.[102] The figure on the right is characterized by Sagittarius and is recognizable as the City-goddess of Rhesaena. Who is the other Tyche? Beside her, on a column, is a small male figure in a bent position who seems to carry

[102] *Études syriennes*, pp. 265f.

something on his shoulder. A similar figure is found on coins both of Carrhae [103] and of Edessa,[104] for which reason there is uncertainty in naming the second goddess.[105] The figure has been identified as Aquarius by Macdonald,[106] and as Marsyas by Hill.[107] It seems to me impossible from the evidence of the coins alone, to make any certain identification. We must content ourselves with the fact that this little figure of type **d** in Rhesaena is almost exactly like that on the Edessa coins of Gordian III. Principally because of the importance of that city in which the Roman *colonia* had been reestablished in 242,[108] and which was the only other Mesopotamian mint to strike for Decius,[109] I should like to agree with Hill and see in the second city-Goddess of type **d** the Tyche of Edessa.

For the combination of City-goddesses we can cite a parallel at Dura: the mural, repeatedly referred to, which depicts the sacrifice of the Roman tribune Julius Terentius [110] where the tutelary goddesses of Dura and Palmyra are seated opposite one another, again under the protection of Rome (Plate XIV). The fresco and coins both give us a deep insight into the relations of Mesopotamia under Roman domina-

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[103] *BMC Arabia*, Pl. XIII, 1, 2.

[104] *BMC Arabia*, Pl. XVI, 1, 4, 6.

[105] Macdonald, *Hunterian Collection*, III, p. 319, No. 19 gives: right, Rhesaena or Singara; left, Carrhae or Edessa. *BMC, Arabia*, pp. cxi f., gives: right, Rhesaena; left, Edessa.

[106] *Hunterian Collection*, III, p. 303, No. 20.

[107] *BMC, Arabia*, p. xciv; Bellinger, *Yale Classical Studies*, V, p. 153, where Wroth is given for Hill in error as the authority.

[108] Bellinger, *Yale Classical Studies*, V, p. 154.

[109] *BMC, Arabia*, pp. 117f.

[110] Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura*, Pl. L.

tion; they show us the leading factors in the public and spiritual life of the religious and temporal powers.

In other respects our coins have their parallel in the Homonoia and Alliance coins of Asia Minor cities.[111] A distinguishing mark of the Rhesaena coinage is the introduction of the eagle, which brings the characteristic official Roman note into the picture: "the union of two important cities under the protection of Rome," or as we could say more correctly in Mesopotamia "for the protection of Rome." The intention was the unity and harmony of the troops, soldiers and veterans, who were stationed in the garrisons and colonies of both cities and throughout the province, the union and discipline of the army. The efforts at reorganization of Decius, who at the beginning of his reign was known as "reparator disciplinae militaris," will have extended in this direction as well.[112]

A representation is used here for the last time, which decades earlier played its part on the Rhesaena coins: Sagittarius. Here it only serves as an attribute of the City-goddess, with which its rôle as a coin type in Mesopotamia ends. On Roman coinage it appears only once again under Gallienus, where, stripped of its Oriental, un-Roman character and transferred to the Graeco-Roman sphere, it is found on coins of the Legio II Parthica (Plate II, D, E).

The pose of the figures on this issue is calm and

[111] For example Smyrna and Perinthus, Smyrna and Nicomedia, Smyrna and Pergamum, etc., see *BMC, Ionia*, pp. 302–308; also in Mesopotamia, *BMC, Arabia*, Edessa, pp. 101f., Nos. 69–71; *Hunterian Collection*, III, p. 309, No. 37, Pl. LXXIX, 4.

[112] Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 8922 (from Oescus).

dignified, but also extraordinarily natural, almost elegant. All figures, goddesses and attributes as well, are drawn with simple but remarkably sure lines, with a mastery of the graver far above that shown on any other coins of Mesopotamia. On many of the reverses the secondary elements are drawn carefully and with interest. On the reverse die **d**9 (No. 89) the die-cutter has substituted, for the usual column of the altar, a caryatid who, dancing, supports a disc above her head. This figure, in spite of its small size, is extraordinarily well done, both in body and dress; the same is true of the caryatid appearing in a similar position on the later Victoria coins **f**15 (No. 140), **f**16 (No. 141).

In pose and in the swing of her dress, the altar-figure of **d**9 shows a great similarity to the contemporary Nike-Victoria figures preserved for us in Dura and Palmyra (Plate XVI).[113] Such details and small changes in the type can hardly be due to official influence, but only to an inclination for change and the fancy of the die-cutter. But they do show the technical and spiritual quality of those whose duty it was to prepare the dies and give the coins their final form in the second period of Decius' coinage.

The question therefore arises in the mind of the beholder, whether these dies were actually the work of native, provincial artisans; the difference is all too obvious. And if not from the province, where did the die-cutters come from, and what training did they have? Here, as so often when we look into the origin of art in the East, we are forced back on

[113] Dura: *Yale Classical Studies*, V, Fig. 57; Palmyra: Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre*, Paris, 1922. Pls. XVII, XVIII.

conjecture, which, however, in this particular field, numismatics, thanks to the peculiar character of the subject, can closely approximate the truth.

Above, in the general discussion of the portraits, it was ascertained that also the obverse of this issue, the portrait of Decius, was excellently modeled and could compare with the best of the imperial coins. On these coins we find nothing which could be connected with the local arts, nothing of the awkward or simple, often primitive and crude, coinage of the previous decades. The technical skill with which our reverse figures are cut, the modeling and movement of the two figures at the altar, and of the altar-figure itself indicate a fundamental training in sculpture, practice in art, and Western, Graeco-Roman influence. "Indubitablement inspirées par l'art grec contemporain," says Chabot of the Nike figures from Palmyra which we mentioned, "on peut même affirmer qu'elles sont l'oeuvre d'artistes grecs." [114] What does Strack say about the coins of just a few decades before this? "Für die Münzen des zweiten Jahrhunderts aber gilt ohne Einschränkung, dass die künstlersich höchste Qualität immer bei der stadtrömischen Offizin liegt und dass alle Prägungen der Provinzen hinter den römischen,—oft sogar in weitem abstand—zurückstehen." This is true in Asia Minor and also in Antioch and Alexandria, to name only those cities which were both important centers of culture and mints of coins with wide circulation. Where the quality of provincial coins approaches that of the Roman, the Roman influence is probably active.[115] Actual cooperation of the Ro-

[114] *Op. cit.*, p. 101.
[115] Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung*, II, p. 194.

man imperial mint has been proved in the case of Alexanderia [116] and Caesarea in Cappadocia; [117] in the latter mint, even the types of the colonial issues were adopted from the Roman.[118]

What Strack says is in a general way even true of the third century, especially of the copper coinage. Applying this to our coins, the question about the artists is answered. The excellent portrait, the exemplary lettering and the reverse, in short the superb style, all indicate that our "Concordia" pieces were influenced directly or indirectly by the imperial Roman mint. If now we again examine the reverse type, that of which we were before vaguely conscious now becomes clear: the technique and die-cutting are Greek, the manner and arrangement of the composition, the content and expression of the Concordia coins is throughout Roman. To this we must add the change in the inscription, adding the colonial title which occurred just at this point, the minting of fractional currency on imperial standards, the accurate weights—in short a Roman spirit pervades these coins; they are Roman coins in Greek clothing. How did this happen on the Parthian border, in farthest Mesopotamia?

Issue e

Founder (priest) in long garment plowing right,

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[116] "Der Stil dieser Münzen (Hadrian) ist ein anderer; er entspricht weitgehend dem der stadtrömischen Prägung. Einwirkungen von dort stehen daher ausser Frage." Strack, *op. cit.*, II, 26. Also in Alexandria under Severus Alexander we can prove the introduction of personnel from the mint at Rome; see Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen*, Stuttgart, 1924, I, pp. 184f,

[117] "Kein Zweifel, dass die Bildstempel (under Hadrian) entweder aus der römischen Offizin stammen, oder dort ausgebildete scalptores nach Caesarea übernommen wurden." Strack, *op. cit.*, I, p. 195, note 847.

[118] *BMC, Galatia*, pp. xxxv f.

left hand resting on staff, with the right directing the plow; in field above, eagle with spread wings seated on palm branch, in beak, filleted wreath; in exergue, half-figure of River-god swimming.

In this issue the emperor strikes with three obverses: **C**, **D**, **E**. In **C** we find two dies of the Concordia issue used again, as well as a few new ones. Obverse **C**, which was most frequent in the earlier issues, is here and in the following issue also plentifully struck; 19 examples of the 30 reverse dies are coupled with **C**. Besides the old obverse die **D1** there are two new ones. **E** with the old die is used once more.

The coins of the empress have obverse **I** in two dies already used. Also the joint coins of the emperor and his son are struck with the die used in the earlier issue, on which Herennius was still called ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. In this issue, types with the heir alone (obverse **K**) and joint coins of the emperor and his wife (obverse **L**) are added to the earlier reverses, so that we have joint coins of two pairs, and coins for three individuals alone; in all seven different obverse types.

The coins of Herennius, of which only three examples are known, are struck from two different dies. In **K1** the portrait of the youthful co-regent shows a marked resemblance to his father, accentuated by the slightly aquiline nose, the round chin, and somewhat receding forehead. On **K2** appears the same head but with a somewhat changed, more childish nose; this may be die **K1** worn and re-engraved. Both times the heir is called ΣΕΒ(*αστός*). Since Etruscus is already called ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ on these

coins, they are presumably later than those on which he is still known as ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. When, however, he appears on contemporary coins (the joint coins with his father) still as ΚΑΙΣΑΡ [119] it is due to the fact that all of the joint coins were struck from one die, and that this die with ΚΑΙΣΑΡ was taken over from an earlier issue and used again. This does not change the sequence of issues, which must remain **d-e-f**. Also we know of two obverses of the emperor (C8 and C10) which appear only in issues **e** and **f**, proving that they are later than **d**. Skipping an issue with two dies would be improbable.

There are 37 dies of reverse **e**, the largest number we have been able to find for any type in Rhesaena. Reverse **e1** is coupled with obverse **C** (No. 94) and **E** (No. 120). Die **e24** is used for Decius (No. 117) and for Etruscus (No. 179); **e25** in three combinations, for Decius (No. 118), Etruscilla (No. 173) and on a joint coin, Decius-Herennius (No. 190). The die **e33** serves for the coins of Herennius (No. 178) and for the joint coins Decius-Etruscilla (No. 181).

From such a study of the number of dies, unfortunately nothing can be concluded about the length of time one issue covered. We know that at one time with just a few dies coinages continued for years, and at another there were dozens of dies for an issue lasting only a few months. Therefore we must content ourselves by merely noting the fact of the large number of known examples, and remarkable abundance of coins.

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[119] See a similar phenomenon at Antioch under Philip Jr., Bellinger, *The Sixth, Seventh and Tenth Dura Hoards*, pp. 15–16, p. 56, Nos. 182f., pp. 58f., Nos. 197f.

The reverse type e represents the well-known scene of a formal founding according to Etrusco-Roman rite, the Priest with plow and yoke of oxen tracing the *sulcus primigenius*. As a symbol of a *deductio coloniae* it appears on imperial and especially on colonial coins.[120] Generally the flag of the colonists, the vexillum, which also played its part in the founding, is included in this scene.[121] The long staff of the priest is here substituted for it. Content and manner of representation is here, as in the previous issue, typically Roman, a further indication of official influence which was active at Rhesaena in the second part of Decius' reign. Also the River-god in the exergue, whose origin in this position was the statue of Eutychides, is gradually crowded out. On several pieces a filleted wreath is substituted. In the next issue the God has entirely disappeared and the exergue, as so often on imperial copper, remains empty. The provincial influences which lead to the choice of types, Tyche and temple, on Decius' early coins are finally played out. The only un-Roman element remaining is the Greek inscription, and that too only in modified form, for the name of the legion remains Latin. Whether there was any particular reason for the choice of this type for the Rhesaena coins we cannot say.[122]

The conclusions which we drew from the style of

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[120] On imperial coins, e.g., Strack, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 129f., No. 384. On colonial coins, in Corinth, etc.; in the East, for example in Bostra, *BMC*, *Arabia*, Pl. IV. 4.

[121] Kornemann, "Coloniae," *RE*, IV, col. 572.

[122] It is not certain that there was any expansion of the colony. Decius also created a colony at Thessalonica on the Balkan peninsula when it was threatened by barbarian invasions; *BMC*, *Macedonia*, pp. lxiii and 128; Wittig, *op. cit.*, 1270.

the "Concordia" issue are equally valid for the "Founder" issue; indeed we can go somewhat further. The Roman influence apparent on the Rhesaena coinage, which continued over three abundant issues (we shall see that the last, the "Tyche-Fortuna" issue belongs to this group), cannot have been due entirely to such secondary forces as the artisans, die-cutters or mint officials. The introduction of new types is to be attributed to the same source, in all probability, as the new installation and fresh use in all the principal mints of workmen experienced in the making of coins. Thus, the nature of the types was Roman, Roman the form of the coin, and Roman the workmen. The question arises, what events led to such a strengthening of Roman life in Mesopotamia?

Issue **f**

Tyche-Fortuna in turreted crown, chiton and mantle, standing left; in her left hand, cornucopia; with her out-stretched right pouring a libation on a lighted columnar altar, in field left above, eagle with spread wings seated on palm-branch, filleted wreath in beak; exergue empty.

In this issue, the coins of the emperor are struck almost exclusively with obverse **C**. Dies (**C5** and **C6**, **C8** and **C10**) from issues **d** and **e** are reused. Of other obverse types for the emperor we know only one example of type **D**; all other obverses seem to have been used no longer; at best we could only have expected **E** in addition.

Die **I1**, used in issue **d**, is again found on coins of the empress; similarly on the joint coins of Decius-

Etruscilla and Decius-Herennius the old dies L1 and M1 are reused. No coin of Herennius alone is known for this issue.

On this issue we find the figure of the Goddess of Fate, Tyche, the Fortuna of the Romans. In the first half of the third century, in the heyday of Rhesaena, her cult had already spread throughout the ancient world. Vespasian introduced her worship in the Roman army and put her image on Roman coins,[123] under Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus her golden statue stood in the sleeping apartments of the Emperor,[124] and in the fourth century her cult was still practised by the Christians at Dorn.[125] With headdress, cornucopia, and patera or rudder,[126] she appears as one of the most usual coin types of Roman times. On imperial coins, often connected with the imperial family,[127] she is considered on Greek coins sometimes as goddess of destiny, sometimes more as local deity.[128] That the single city Tyche is not to be confused with the general Greek Tyche-Fortuna is evident from a coin of Antioch which shows both goddesses.[129] It is difficult to dis-

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[123] Gundel, *RE*, VII, 2627; Domaszewski, *Religion des römischen Heeres*, p. 40.

[124] Strack, *op. cit.*, I, p. 77; Bellinger, *The Eighth and Ninth Dura Hoards*, pp. 2–8.

[125] Prudentius, *C. Symmach.*, I, 197ff.

[126] Roscher, *Lexicon s.v.* 1334f.; Bernhart, *Handbuck zur Münzkunde*, p. 90.

[127] On Fortuna Augusti see Strack, *op. cit.*, I, p. 76.

[128] To name only a few coins: Megara (Tyche of Praxiteles): *BMC*, *Attica*, p. 123, Nos. 51, 52, Pl. XXII. 5, also see Pausanias I, 43. 6, and Imhoof and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, 7f., Pl. A 14; Sicyon: *BMC*, *Peloponnesus*, p. 56, No. 224(= Imhoof-Gardner, *op. cit.*, 28, pl. H 3); *Historia Numorum*², 412; Argos: *BMC*, *Peloponnesus*, p. 144, No. 109, Pl. XXVII. 24(= Imhoof-Gardner, *op. cit.*, 37, Pl. K 29); Smyrna: *BMC*, *Ionia*, Pls. XXVI. 14, XXVII. 4(= Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen*, Pl. IX. 10), XXVIII. 2, 6.

[129] *BMC*. *Galatia*, p. lxii. Pl. XXIV. 13.

tinguish the coin types representing Tyche-Fortuna from those of the Homonoia-Concordia type; other attributes being the same, the figure with the rudder is generally considered as Tyche [130] and the one holding a patera as Homonoia,[131] but this cannot be followed too rigidly.[132] On these grounds, the figure on our issue might be interpreted as Homonoia-Concordia in the Roman sense, which makes no fundamental difference, as no conclusions which we might draw from that would be changed in any way.

One issue has already been devoted to Concordia and it seems improbable that within a relatively short time two issues expressing the same idea would be struck. The general tendency to make the greatest possible use of coins as a means of official propaganda became steadily more important in imperial times, and we must take this into account wherever Roman influence was as strongly marked as here. So it seems to me that this last issue of Rhesaena should rightly be called the "Fortuna" issue.

Again the conditions at Dura may serve as material for comparison; a marble statuette of Tyche-Fortuna with cornucopiae unearthed there shows that she was also worshipped there.[133] Then there is a Dura wall-painting on which a figure with cornucopia is offering frankincense at a thymiaterion. The whole representation shows great similarity to

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[130] For example, Smyrna, *BMC, Ionia*, p. 254, No. 159.

[131] Pick, *Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien*, I, p. 245, No. 764, Pl. XVIII, 34. On Concordia Augusti see Strack, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 56f.

[132] Tyche with patera: see coins of Megara and Sicyon mentioned in note 128, and Smyrna, *BMC, Ionia*, Pl. XXVII. 4.

[133] Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura*, p. 216.

our coin type, even in style, so that the idea of a common prototype or some closer connection, as in the case of Nike of issue **d**, comes to mind (Fig. 3).[134]

FIG. 3—Tyche sacrificing. (Wall drawing from Dura.)

[134] See *Dura Rep. V*, 158; VI, 485 and fig. 32.

The eagle in the field of our coins [136] gives a more definite meaning to the whole picture; if on imperial coins we have "Fortuna Augusti," then here we may call her "Fortuna imperii Romani." The great tutelary Goddess, guiding the fate of the Empire, is thus brought before the eyes of the citizens so that these citizens, colonists and soldiers of Rome in the East could call upon her for protection, there where the enemies of the Empire, the Persians, had grown to a menacing strength and power. Also this issue seems to be the bearer of the message of that effort of Decius' which characterized his whole reign: Romanization. The completely empty exergue is another small indication of the advancing Romanization: the foreign River-god flees before the imperial gods.

The Middle Bronzes

The rest of the coins of Rhesaena are minted only in the name of the emperor. They represent two denominations, each with only one reverse.

The middle bronzes had presumably the value of a *semis*. The emperor's bust appears on them in two forms, with laurel wreath and with radiate crown. They are smaller replicas of the emperor's bust on types **B** and **C** of the large coins. Whether there is any connection between the discontinued use of obverse **B** on the large coins and its adoption for the smaller ones is uncertain. The obverse inscription reads: ΑΥΤ(*οκράτωρ*) Κ(*αῖσαρ*) Γ(*άιος*) *Μ*(*έσσιος*) ΚΥ(*ντος*) ΤΡΑ(*ιανὸς*) ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΣΕΒ(*αστός*).

The reverse throughout has the form used on the

[136] Similar coins of Prusa, *BMC, Pontus*, Pl. XXXV. 7, and in Raphanea, *BMC, Galatia*, p. lxx, Pl. XXXI. 12, 13.

second group of large coins: ΣΕΠ(*τιμία*) ΚΟΛ(*ωνία*) ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ L(egio) III P(arthica) (see Table IV).

The reverse shows the confronted, draped busts of two Tychae with veil and turreted crown. Above in the field is a seated eagle facing front, with half-closed wings; below a lighted columnar altar. Only a single piece, No. 145, which differs also in the reverse inscription, has neither altar nor eagle. Its faulty inscription ΣΕΠ ΚΟΛ ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩ PSL (Legio Severiana Parthica) is worthy of note because it retains the form of the coins of Severus Alexander.

The bust of Tyche, instead of the complete figure, occurs frequently on coins of the East. The meaning of these coins is exactly the same as that expressed by the Concordia issue of the large ones. Here, as there, the confronted images of two City-goddesses (on the *dupondius* the entire figures, on the *semis* the busts), and in both denominations the eagle and the altar between. Like the large coins, they combine various marks of the first three issues, such as obverse legend, drawing and style of the portrait, with characteristics of the last three issues, that is, the subject and reverse legend.

Therefore, we can hardly go wrong if we put these middle bronzes at the beginning of the second period and contemporary with the Concordia issue of the *dupondii*. Possibly some of them were also struck in the succeeding issue, but we cannot assume a longer period for the output of these little known coins (see Table V).

The Small Bronzes

The smallest denomination minted by Decius at Rhesaena corresponds roughly to the Roman *triens* (see p. 13). It shows a much reduced bust of the emperor in type **B** with the inscription: AYT(οκράτωρ) K(αῖσαρ) Γ(άιος) M(έσσιος) K(υίντος) TP(αιανὸς) ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΣΕΒ(αστός).

The reverse field shows us a familiar type: the *vexillum*. The flag is ornamented with fringe on its lower edge, the ends of the crosspiece are both decorated with a fluttering ribbon. Above it, seated facing, is an eagle with spread wings. The *vexillum* bears the device $\begin{smallmatrix}\text{LEG}\\ \text{III}\end{smallmatrix}$. The reverse also has the usual inscription, which as before we find in both the longer and shorter forms. Also in the examples with the short form, ΣΕΠ(τιμία) ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ (however, without the name of the legion), the obverse portrait is flat and carelessly executed (No. 151). On the contrary, the obverse of the pieces with the later, longer formula ΣΕΠ(τιμία) ΚΟΛ(ωνία) ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ L III P (Nos. 152–156) presents us a well modelled and carefully cut imperial portrait, whose similarity to many of the dies of the large coins of type **B** is marked. Of the first group only two examples are known to me, of the second sixteen.

Therefore, in spite of the same reverse type, a chronological difference in the small bronzes is possible. The pieces with the shorter reverse legend and the smaller portrait of the emperor we would put in the time of the first group of large coins, that is, with issues **a**, **b** and **c**, which agree with these small coins as to portrait, inscription and style.

It is not possible to determine the exact issue of the first group in which these might fall. On the other hand, all of the small coins with longer reverse inscription and good portrait should be associated with the later group of large coins and dated from the same time. We shall not err if we put them, or at least their first appearance, in the Concordia issue, at which time, as we saw above, the first joint coins of the emperor and his oldest son were struck, and very probably the middle bronzes minted.

We know no small coins of either the empress or the heir. Mionnet describes, it is true, a small coin of Etruscilla which, however, we have not been able to trace. The smallest denomination at Rhesaena again brings us the *vexillum*, a type which was used on the first *Vexillum-coins* some four decades earlier. But these last pieces struck under Decius did not enjoy so long a circulation as the earlier ones; hardly a year later the Persians fought and ruled in Mesopotamia, where formerly the Romans reigned.

Dating and Summary

The sequence of types has been determined from the evidence of the coins themselves. The approximate dating of the single issues, or at least of the principal groups **a**–**c** and **d**–**f**, requires the consideration of historical events and other coins as well.

Decius was declared emperor by the Pannonian troops in the middle of June 249 and could regard himself as sole ruler from the death of Philip in September of that year.[136] The adoption of the

[136] Wittig, *op. cit.*, cols. 1250–1252.

name Traianus, which is attested from various places, dates from the very beginning of the reign. The legend of the earlier group of Rhesaena coins, issues **a–c**, is the Greek equivalent for Imp. Caes. C. Messius Quintus Traianus Decius Aug., the form of the name which occurs elsewhere most frequently and throughout the reign. However, the Antoniniani show another form of obverse inscription which is even earlier, and, since it cannot be supposed that a small border town in the remote East would begin immediately to strike coins for a new Emperor, we cannot put the first three issues of Rhesaena too soon after the death of Philip. On the other hand, one cannot date them too late, for the fourth issue, the Concordia coins, is connected with the title of Caesar for Etruscus. In Mesopotamia one might not hear of the new title as soon as in Egypt, where it was already in use in the middle of February 250,[137] but the delay would not be great. This evidence leads us to date the earlier group of Rhesaena in the end of 249 and the first half, perhaps the first three or four months of 250. From the same time comes the earlier *triens* (*quadrans*?).

After a half-year of peaceful reign for Decius came the invasion of the Goths and Carpi into Moesia. Herennius was raised to the rank of Caesar and sent with part of the troops to oppose the barbarians. Our fourth issue, **d**, contains joint coins with the portrait of Herennius and the title ΚΑΙΣΑΡ which he received perhaps in March, more probably be-

[137] Wittig, *op. cit.*, *col.* 1248 (from *BGU* III, 937, dated November 11, 250).

tween April and June.[138] We may assume, therefore, that the first issue of the second group appeared in the second half of 250.[139]

The types of **e** and **f** are certainly Roman but have too general a significance to give any indication of their date. The fact that in issue **e** there are coins for Herennius alone with the title ΣΕΒ(*αστός*) is of little value for absolute dating. We know, it is true, that Herennius very probably became Augustus and co-regent in May 251,[140] but the title ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ was often used for Caesar in the third century when the person in question was not in fact Augustus, and therefore can be used as evidence for dating only with circumspection.[141] Moreover, the heir's name is here incorrectly given, although in the earlier issue **d** the correct form is used. For these reasons we have not sufficient evidence for supposing that issues **e** and **f** were struck in the relatively short period between May and the death of Decius in the first days of June 251.[142] There is

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[138] March ?: Schulz, *Vom Prinzipat zum Dominat*, Paderborn, 1919, p. 203; April-Mid. June: Wittig, *op. cit.*, col. 1251.

[139] Herennius was designated as Caesar in 250–1 = Dac. an. V = Moes. an XII = 4 of Decius; Wittig, *op. cit.*, col. 1262 If our issue **d** was still being struck in July or August, which is not improbable, it would be contemporary with the Alexandrian coins of Decius on which we find the same name order (Decius Traianus). Wittig, *op. cit.*, col. 1248.

[140] Wittig, *op. cit.*, col. 1263.

[141] Examples for Herennius and Hostilian in Wittig, *op. cit.*, col. 1264. On the other hand Caesar occurs sometimes when the person in question has long been Augustus; see Bellinger, *The Sixth, Seventh, and Tenth Dura Hoards*, pp. 15–16, p. 56, Nos. 182f., pp. 58f., Nos. 197f. (Antioch); also here the coins of issue **e** with ΣΕΒ and ΚΑΙΣΑΡ together.

[142] Wittig, *op. cit.*, col. 1253. That this time was too short even for mints lying closer to Rome to issue coins is seen from the fact that for Herennius there are no coins of Alexandria, Dacia, or Moesia Inferior with the title Imp. Caes. Aug.

more reason for thinking that they were minted immediately after **d**, that is from the last months of 250 and during the first half of 251.

The technical improvement and the various innovations found in the second group of our coins bear witness to an increase of Roman influence. Practically every innovation in provincial coinage from the time of Marcus Aurelius on was due to the influence of the imperial coinage. "Wie die Provinzial-Münzen in Stil, Technik und Währungssystem die römische Beeinflussung immer deutlicher erkennen lassen, so vollzieht sich auch in der Symbolik der Typen immer mehr ein Angleich an die für das ganze Reich *von Rom aus* verbreiteten Bilder," remarks a student of the Alexandrian coinage.[143] This may well have been connected, on the one hand, with the reform of the cities' administration, the so-called *censura* under Decius,[144] and, on the other, with the influx of Roman soldiers in the general strengthening of the garrisons against the Persians. For them an increase of small change would be necessary; to them the improved portrait of the emperor and the regularizing of his title would have meant more than to the native inhabitants; and in their minds the stress laid on the town's official title of Colonia would have held out hopes for adequate provision for their old age.

No one in Rhesaena could have guessed that the latest issues would last for so short a time; that Rhesaena itself would so soon suffer the fate of the many flourishing border cities of the Euphrates and

143 Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen*, I, p. 232; see also pp. 184f.

144 Wittig, *op. cit.*, col. 1278.

Tigris district. Originally wealthy commercial centers with a large civil population, they became more and more arsenals and frontier forts from which the riches, possessions and full money-boxes of peace times disappeared, giving way to the thin purses of soldiers from every corner of the Empire,[145] until at last the Persians came.

With the untimely death of Decius at the beginning of June 251 the history of Rhesaena as an ancient mint comes to an end. After the reforms of Diocletian in the fourth century the legiones Parthicae, now four in number, still occupied the much shrunken Roman part of Mesopotamia, the 1st and 2nd Parthica in "Mesopotamia," the 3rd and 4th in "Osrhoena."[146] The peace of the year 363–364 between the Romans and Persians moved the Eastern border of the Empire to the river today called Djaghdjagh, the tributary of the Chabur coming from Nisibis, so that once again Rhesaena became an important border town; but its coins can tell us nothing more. In 373, because of its importance, it was re-fortified and given the new name Theodosioupolis, which, however, did not last.

The army of the Calif Omar (634–644) conquered Mesopotamia in its triumphal passage, and a large Arab settlement, preserving the old name in the Arabic form Ras-el-Ain, developed to the north of the Roman town. Under the Abbasids it was a rich and important caravan city which was used by the Califs as a mint city and perhaps as a summer

[145] C. B. Welles, *Dura Rep. IV*, p. 143.

[146] Nischer in Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer*, p. 484.

residence. The memory of its greatness is today preserved in the appellation "Abbasije" for the ruins of the old Islamic city.[147] Succeeding Saracenic dynasties further benefitted the city on the Chabur until the Mongol invasion of Mesopotamia, beginning in 1259, laid waste the fruitful plain and destroyed almost the entire population. From that time on these lands have remained desert, occupied only by nomad Arabs and Kurdish shepherds, the mounds of ruins alone bearing witness to the former dense population and the days of their culture.

Trajan Decius 249–251

Dupondii

Issue **a**: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΙ ΜΕΣ ΚΥ ΤΡΑ ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΣΕΒ (See pp. 46f.).

Rev. ΣΕΠ ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ L III P Tyche seated l. (See pp. 57-59).

45. Obverse **B1** Reverse **a1** Plate VII
Countermarked veiled head r. (Tyche?) = Etruscilla, No. 157
a) Vienna, ↑, 26 mm., 16.3 gr.; b) Copenhagen, 26 mm.

46. Obverse **B2** Reverse **a2** Plate VII
Paris, 27 mm.

47. Obverse **C1** Reverse **a3**
Paris, ↑, 25 mm.

48. Obverse **C1** Reverse **a4**
Collection Hollschek, Vienna, 26 mm., 10.98 gr.

49. Obverse **C1** Reverse **a5**
Hunterian Coll., Vol. III, p. 318, No. 13, Pl. LXXIX, 19.

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[147] Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf*, pp. 31, 69f.

50. Obverse **C2** Reverse **a6** Plate VII
River-god r.,
BMC, p. 129, No. 27, 27 mm., 11.42 gr.

51. Obverse **C2** Reverse **a7**
River-god r.
Naples, 27 mm., 15.0 gr.

52. Obverse **E1** Reverse **a8** Plate VII
River-god r., in field, star, l. and r.
Paris, 25 mm.

Issue **b**: Same inscription.
Rev. Same inscription. Temple with roof (See pp. 59f.).

53. Obverse **A1** Reverse **b1** Plate VII
Temple with five columns. River-god l. = Etruscilla, No. 161.
BMC, p. 128, No. 21, Pl. XVIII, 9, ↘, 27 mm., 13.0 gr.

54. Obverse **A1** Reverse **b2**
Vienna, ↖, 27 mm., 11.2 gr.

55. Obverse **A2** Reverse **b3**
Temple with seven columns. = Decius, No. 56, Etruscilla, No. 162.
Berlin, ↑, 28 mm., pierced.

56. Obverse **B1** Reverse **b3**
= Decius, No. 55, Etruscilla, No. 162.

57. Obverse **B2** Reverse **b4**
Temple with four columns.

a) Vienna, ↓, 28 mm., 13.4 gr.; b) Berlin, ←, 28 mm.

58. Obverse **B2** Reverse **b5** Plate VII
Temple with five columns
..ΣΑΝΗΙΣΙΩΝ

a) Collection Schottenstift, Vienna, 26 mm., 16.13 gr.; b) Coll. Cast., ↘, 26 mm., 9.72 gr

59. Obverse **C2** Reverse **b6**
Vienna, ↘, 28 mm., 12.4 gr.

60. Obverse **C2** Reverse **b7**
River-god r.

Collection Alois Rzach, Prague, 26 mm.

61. Obverse **C2** Reverse **b8**
= Decius, No. 63

Vienna, ↘ 27 mm., 11.6 gr.

62. Obverse **C2** Reverse **b9** Plate VII
Naples, 26 mm., 13.45 gr.

63. Obverse **F1** Reverse **b8**
= Decius, No. 61

Paris, 26 mm.

64. Obverse **F1** Reverse **b10** Plate VII
Paris, 27 mm.

Issue **c**: Same inscription.

Rev. Same inscription. Temple without roof (See pp. 61f.).

65. Obverse **B2** Reverse **c1**
Temple with five columns. River-god l.

Berlin, →, 27 mm.

66. Obverse **C1** Reverse **c2** Plate VIII
Temple with six columns.
= Etruscilla, No. 165

Paris, 26 mm.

67. Obverse C2 Reverse c3
Temple with five columns. River-god r.
BMC, p. 128, No. 17, ↖, 27 mm., 11.27 gr.

68. Obverse C2 Reverse c4 Plate VIII
a) Berlin (under Herennius), ↘, 28 mm.; b) Berlin, ↖, 26 mm.

69. Obverse C2 Reverse c5
River-god l.
BMC, p. 128, No. 16, 27 mm., 14.0 gr.

70. Obverse C2 Reverse c6
Temple with six columns.
a) Coll. Hollschek, Vienna, 27 mm., 11.75 gr.; b) Paris, 27 mm.; c) Leningrad, 26 mm., 15.57 gr.

71. Obverse C2 Reverse c7
Temple with five columns.
Hunterian Coll., Vol. III, p. 318, No. 11, 27 mm.

72. Obverse C2 Reverse c8
River-god r.
Hunterian Coll., Vol. III, p. 318, No. 12, 27 mm.

73. Obverse E1 Reverse c9
BMC, p. 128, No. 19, Pl. XVIII, 18, ↘, 27 mm., 11.37 gr.

74. Obverse E1 Reverse c10 Plate VIII
a) Copenhagen, 26 mm.; b) Copenhagen, 26 mm. with countermark on obverse: veiled head of Tyche with mural crown.

75. Obverse E1 Reverse c3
Vienna, ↖, 26 mm., 10.6 gr.

76. Obverse **E1** Reverse **c11**
a) Berlin, ↘, 26 mm.; b) Collection Schottenschrift, 27 mm., 11.79 gr.

77. Obverse **E1** Reverse **c12** Plate VIII
Temple with six columns.
a) *Hunterian Coll.*, Vol. III, p. 318, No. 9, 27 mm.; b) *ibid.*, No. 10, Pl. LXXIX, 18, 25 mm.

78. Obverse **E1** Reverse **c13**
Temple with five columns
BMC, p. 128, No. 20, ↘, 28 mm., 10.87 gr.

79. Obverse **F1** Reverse **e14** Plate VIII
BMC, p. 128, No. 18, ↖, 27 mm. 12.23 gr.

Issue **d**: ΑΥΤ Κ Γ ΜΕ ΚΥ ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ (See pp. 46f.).
Rev. ΣΕΠ ΚΟΛ ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ LIIIP Concordia (See pp. 62-68).

80. Obverse **B3** Reverse **d1**
Eagle and River-god r.
= Decius, No. 84
Vienna, ↓, 26 mm., 11.4 gr., pierced.

81. Obverse **C3** Reverse **d2** Plate VIII
Eagle l., River-god r.
a) *BMC*, p. 131, No. 32, Pl. XVIII, 18, ↓, 27 mm., 14.53 gr.; b) Munich, 27 mm.; c) Berlin, ↖, 26 mm.

82. Obverse **C3** Reverse **d3**
Copenhagen, 27 mm.

83. Obverse **C3** Reverse **d4**
= Decius, No. 93
Berlin 25 mm.

84. Obverse **C4** Reverse **d1** Plate VIII
= Decius, No. 80
Paris, 25 mm.

85. Obverse **C5** Reverse **d5**
Naples, 26 mm., 11.8 gr.

86. Obverse **C5** Reverse **d6**
Leningrad, ↓, 26 mm., 12.69 gr.

87. Obverse **C6** Reverse **d7** Plate IX
a) Berlin, ↖, 26 mm.; b) Paris, 26 mm.

87I. Obverse **C6** var. Reverse **d9** var. Plate IX
Yale (from Dura), ↖, 25 mm., 12.52 gr.

88. Obverse **D1** Reverse **d8**
Eagle and River-god r.
Berlin, ↖, 25 mm.

89. Obverse **D1** Reverse **d9** Plate IX
Altar as Caryatid l.
a) *BMC*, p. 130, No. 29, Pl. XVIII, 11, ↖, 27 mm., 10.57 gr.; b) Berlin, ↘, 26 mm.; c) *BMC*, p. 130, No. 28, ↘, 27 mm., 15.38 gr.; d) Naples, 25 mm., 12.92 gr.

90. Obverse **E1** Reverse **d10** Plate IX
Eagle l., altar as column.
BMC, p. 130, No. 30, Pl. XVIII, 12, ↓, 25 mm., 11.51 gr.

91. Obverse **E1** Reverse **d11**
Berlin, ↖, 25 mm.

92. Obverse **E1** Reverse **d12**
Leningrad, ↑, 25 mm., 14.56 gr.

93. Obverse **E1** Reverse **d4**
= Decius, No. 83
BMC, p. 130, No. 31, ↑, 27 mm., 11.45 gr.

Issue e: Same inscription. (See pp. 68-72)
Rev. Same inscription. Foundation of a colony.

94. Obverse C3 — Reverse e1
Eagle l.; in ex. wreath between two palms. = Decius, No. 120
Naples, 27 mm., 13.48 gr.

95. Obverse C5 — Reverse e2 — Plate IX
Eagle sitting r., looking l.; in ex. River-god r.
Naples, 26 mm., 14.95 gr.

96. Obverse C5 — Reverse e3
Berlin, ↓, 27 mm.

97. Obverse C5 — Reverse e4
Leningrad, ↖, 25 mm., 12.94 gr.

98. Obverse C5 — Reverse e5
Leningrad, 26 mm., 12.96 gr.

99. Obverse C5 — Reverse e6

100. Obverse C6 — Reverse e7
BMC, p. 127, No. 13, ↖, 27 mm., 11.98 gr.

101. Obverse C6 — Reverse e8
a) *Hunterian Coll.*, Vol. III, p. 317, No. 6, Pl. LXXIX, 17, 25 mm.; b) Dresden, ↘, 26 mm.

102. Obverse C6 — Reverse e9
a) Munich, 26 mm.; b) Vienna, ↖, 26 mm. 11.7 gr.

103. Obverse C7 — Reverse e10 — Plate IX
Hunterian Coll., Vol. III, p. 317, No. 5, 25 mm.

104. Obverse C7 — Reverse e11
Berlin, ↑, 26 mm.

105. Obverse C7 — Reverse e12

106. Obverse C8 — Reverse e13
BMC, p. 127, No. 10, ↘, 27 mm., 12.45 gr.

107. Obverse **C9** Reverse **e14**
Munich, ↖, 25 mm.
108. Obverse **C10** Reverse **e15**
a) Berlin, ↑, 25 mm.; b) Munich, ↖, 25 mm.
109. Obverse **C10** Reverse **e16**
Berlin, ↑, 26 mm.
110. Obverse **C10** Reverse **e17**
Paris, 25 mm.
111. Obverse **C10** Reverse **e18** Plate IX
Paris, 25 mm.
112. Obverse **C10** Reverse **e19**
Hollschek Coll., Vienna, 25 mm.
113. Obverse **D1** Reverse **e20** Plate IX
BMC, p. 127, No. 11, ↖, 27 mm., 12.29 gr.
114. Obverse **D1** Reverse **e21**
Athens, 25 mm.
115. Obverse **D2** Reverse **e22**
BMC, p. 127, No. 14, Pl. XVIII, 7, ↑, 26 mm., 11.35 gr.
116. Obverse **D3** Reverse **e23** Plate IX
Gotha, 26 mm.
117. Obverse **D3** Reverse **e24** = Herennius, Nos. 179 f.
Paris, 26 mm.
118. Obverse **D3** Reverse **e25** = Etruscilla, No. 173; Decius and Herennius, No. 190
a) Berlin, ↓, 26 mm.; b) Vienna, ↑, 27 mm., 12.8 gr.
119. Obverse **D3** Reverse **e26**
a) *BMC*, p. 127, No. 12, ↑, 27 mm., 12.19 gr.; b) Vienna, ↑, 26 mm., 9.9 gr.

120. Obverse **E1** Reverse **e1** Plate X
= Decius, No. 94
a) Berlin, ↓, 26 mm.; b) Vienna, ↑, 27 mm., 13.5 gr.; c) Hollschek Coll., Vienna, 26 mm., 11.92 gr.

121. Obverse **E1** Reverse **e27**
Eagle sitting l.; in ex. wreath between two palm branches.
a) *Hunterian Coll.*, Vol. III, p. 317, No. 8, 25 mm.; b) *BMC*, p. 127, No. 15, ↑, 26 mm., 12.06 gr. with countermark "Head of Emperor (?) r."

122. Obverse **E1** Reverse **e28**
Eagle sitting r., looking l.
ΡΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ
Hunterian Coll., Vol. III, p. 317, No. 7, 25 mm.

123. Obverse **E1** Reverse **e29** Plate X
In ex. River-god r.
a) Leningrad, 25 mm., 16.06 gr.

124. Obverse **E1** Reverse **e30**
Paris, 25 mm.

Issue **f**: Same inscription.
Rev. Same inscription. Fortuna standing l. (See pp. 72-76).

125. Obverse **C5** Reverse **f1** Plate X
Palm branch l.
Paris, 27 mm.

126. Obverse **C5** Reverse **f2**
Hollschek Collection, Vienna, 26 mm., 10.37 gr.

127. Obverse **C5** Reverse **f3**
Palm branches l. and r.
Hunterian Coll., Vol. III, p. 317, No. 3, 28 mm.

128. Obverse C5 Reverse f4
Palm branch l.
a) Copenhagen, 26 mm.; b) *Hunterian Coll.*, Vol. III, p. 317, No. 4, 25 mm.; c) Munich, 26 mm.

129. Obverse C5 Reverse f5
Munich, 26 mm.

130. Obverse C6 Reverse f6
BMC, p. 129, No. 26, ↖, 26 mm., 10.54 gr.

131. Obverse C6 Reverse f7
Palm branches l. and r.
BMC, p. 129, No. 23, ↖, 27 mm., 12.23 gr.

132. Obverse C6 Reverse f8 Plate X
a) *BMC*, p. 129, No. 24, Pl. XVIII, 10, ↘, 26 mm., 10.34 gr.; b) Berlin, ↖, 26 mm.

133. Obverse C7 Reverse f9 Plate X
BMC, p. 129, No. 25, ↖, 26 mm., 11.29 gr.

134. Obverse C10 Reverse f10
Naples, 25 mm., 10.60 gr.

135. Obverse C11 Reverse f11
Palm branch l.
Paris, 25 mm.

136. Obverse C12 Reverse f11
Berlin, ↖, 26 mm.

137. Obverse C12 Reverse f12
Palm branches l. and r.
BMC, p. 129, No. 22, ↖, 27 mm., 15.18 gr.

138. Obverse C12 Reverse f13
a) Gotha, 26 mm.; b) Leningrad, ↖, 25 mm., 14.02 gr.

139. Obverse C12 Reverse f14
Leningrad, →, 26 mm., 13.67 gr.

140. Obverse **C12** — Reverse **f15** — Plate X
Instead of altar, Caryatid Victory, a wreath in her r. hand.
Vienna, ↖, 26 mm., 11.1 gr.

141. Obverse **C12** — Reverse **f16** — Plate X
Instead of altar, female Caryatid.
Berlin, ↖, 26 mm.

142. Obverse **C13** — Reverse **f17**
Palm branch l.
Berlin, ↘, 26 mm.

143. Obverse **C14** — Reverse **f18**
Naples, 26 mm., 11.53 gr.

144. Obverse **D4** — Reverse **f19**
Berlin, ↘, 25 mm.

Semis

Concordia issue: ΑΥΤ Κ Γ Μ ΚΥ ΤΡΑ ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΣΕΒ (See p. 76).

Rev. ΣΕΠ ΚΟΛ ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ LIIIP Veiled busts of two Tychae, confronted, wearing mural crowns.

145. Obverse **B1** — Reverse **d1** — Plate XI
Vienna, ↖, 23 mm., 6.1 gr.

146. Obverse **B1** — Reverse **d2** — Plate XI
In field above, eagle with spread wings, looking r., wreath in beak; below. small altar.
a) Berlin, ↑, 22 mm.; b) Paris, 22 mm.; c) *Hunterian Coll.*, Vol. III, p. 318, No. 14, 27 mm.

147. Obverse **B1** Reverse **d3** Plate XI
Berlin, ↑, 21 mm.

148. Obverse **C1** Reverse **d3**
a) *BMC*, p. 131, No. 33, Pl. XVIII, 13, ↖, 20 mm., 6.30 gr.; b) *BMC*, p. 131, No. 34, ↖, 21 mm., 5.99 gr.

149. Obverse **C1** Reverse **d4** Plate XI
With central point.
a) Vienna, ↘, 21 mm., 6.7 gr.; b) Copenhagen, 20 mm.; c) Berlin, ↖, 20 mm.

150. Obverse **C1** Reverse **d5**
Paris, 21 mm.

Triens or Quadrans

Vexillum issue: ΑΥΤΚΓΜΚΤΡΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΣΕΒ (See p. 78).

Rev. ΣΕΠ ΚΟΛ ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ *Vexillum* with inscription LEG IIIP

151. Obverse **B1** Reverse **v1** Plate XI
Above vexillum seated eagle, wings spread, looking l., wreath in beak.
a) Naples, 16 mm., 4.30 gr.; b) Gotha

152. Obverse **B2** Reverse **v2** Plate XI
a) *BMC*, p. 131, No. 35, Pl. XVIII, 14, ↑, 17 mm., 3.41 gr.; b) Gotha, 16 mm.; c) Paris, 17 mm.

153. Obverse **B2** Reverse **v3** Plate XI

154. Obverse **B2** Reverse **v4** Plate XI
BMC, p. 131, No. 36, ↓, 18 mm., 2.06 gr.

155. Obverse **B2** Reverse **v5** Plate XI
Eagle looking r.
a) Vienna, ↘, 16 mm., 3.5 gr.; b) Copenhagen, 16 mm.; c) Naples, 16 mm., 3.70 gr.; d) Gotha, 16 mm.; e) Munich, 18 mm.

156. Obverse **B2** Reverse **v6** Plate XI
a) Berlin, ↘, 15 mm.; b) *Hunterian Coll.*, Vol. III, p. 318, Nos. 15 f., 17 mm.; c) Munich, 17 mm.

Herennia Etruscilla

Dupondii

Issue a: **G** ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑΝ ΑΙΤΡΩΣΚΙΛΛΑΝ ΣΕΒ (See p. 48).
H ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑΝ ΩΤΡΑΣΚΑΛΛΑΝ ΣΕΒ (See p. 48).

Rev. As on Decius' issue **a**. (See pp. 57-59).

157. Obverse **G1** Reverse **a1**
= Decius, No. 45
a) Leningrad, ←, 26 mm., 11.04 gr.; b) Gotha, 26 mm.

158. Obverse **H1** Reverse **a9** Plate XII
River-god swimming l.
Berlin, ↖, 28 mm.

159. Obverse **H1** Reverse **a10**
Without L III P
a) Munich, 27 mm.; b) Berlin, ↑, 26 mm.; c) Berlin, ↑, 25 mm.

160. Obverse **H1** Reverse **a11** Plate XII
a) *Hunterian Coll.*, Vol. III, p. 319, No. 23, 26 mm.; b) Paris, 28 mm.

Issue b: **G** and **H**.

Rev. As on Decius' issue **b** (See pp. 59f.).

161. Obverse **G1** — Reverse **b1** = Decius, No. 53

Berlin, ↖, 26 mm.

162. Obverse **G1** — Reverse **b3** — Plate XII = Decius, Nos. 55f.

a) Naples, 27 mm., 13.62 gr.; b) *BMC*, p. 133, No. 41, ↑, 27 mm., 13.40 gr.; c) Vienna, ↑, 26 mm., 13.6 gr.

163. Obverse **H1** — Reverse **b11** — Plate XII Temple with eight columns; River-god l.

a) Berlin, ↘, 25 mm.; b) Paris, 26 mm.; c) Munich, 24 mm.

Issue **c**: **G**, **H** and **I** ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑ ΤΡΟΥΣΚΙΛΛΑ ΣΕΒΑ

Rev. as on Decius' issue **c** (See pp. 61f.).

164. Obverse **G1** — Reverse **c15** — Plate XII Temple with six columns, River-god l.

Hunterian Coll., Vol. III, p. 319, No. 22, 25 mm.

165. Obverse **H1** — Reverse **c2** = Decius, No. 66

BMC, p. 133, No. 40, Pl. XVIII, 17, ↑, 26 mm., 13.69 gr.

166. Obverse **I1** — Reverse **c16** — Plate XII Temple with five columns; River-god l.

a) Paris, 26 mm.; b) Gotha, 26 mm.

167. Obverse **I1** Countermark male (?) head r. — Reverse **c17** Temple with five columns; River-god r.

168. Obverse I2 Reverse c18 Plate XII
Temple with five columns; eagle with wreath in beak; River-god r.
Hunterian Coll., Vol. III, p. 319, No. 21, 25 mm.

Issue **d**: I.

Rev. as on Decius' issue **d** (See pp. 62-68).

169. Obverse I3 Reverse d13 Plate XIII
= Decius and Herennius, No. 185
a) Berlin, ↓, 26 mm.; b) *Hunterian Coll.*, Vol. III, p. 319, No. 20, Pl. LXXIX, 20, 25 mm.

170. Obverse I3 Reverse d14
a) Paris, 28 mm.; b) Munich, 26 mm.

171. Obverse I4 Reverse d15 Plate XIII
= Decius and Herennius, No. 186
Hunterian Coll., Vol. III, p. 319, No. 19, 25 mm.

Issue **e**: I.

Rev. as on Decius' issue **e** (See pp. 68-72).

172. Obverse I2 Reverse e31
Hollschek Coll., Vienna, 25 mm., 12.12 gr.

173. Obverse I3 Reverse e25
= Decius, No. 118
Paris, 25 mm.

174. Obverse I3 Reverse e32
Eagle, sitting r., looking l.
Berlin, ↑, 26 mm.

Issue **f**: I.

Rev. as on Decius' issue **f** (See pp. 72-76).

175. Obverse I3 Reverse f20
Palm branches l. and r.
Vienna, ↘, 28 mm.

176. Obverse I3 — Reverse f21
= Decius and Herennia, No. 184
Paris, 27 mm.

177. Obverse I3 — Reverse f22
Hunterian Coll., Vol. III, p. 319, No. 18, 25 mm.

Herennius Etruscus

Dupondii

Issue e: ΓΑΙ ΜΕΣ ΕΡ ΕΤΡΟΥΣΚΙΛΛΙΟΣ ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΣΕΒ (See p. 49).
Rev. as on Decius' issue e (See pp. 68-72).

178. Obverse K1 — Reverse e33
Eagle sitting r., looking l.; in ex. wreath (?).
= Decius and Herennia, No. 181.
Berlin, ↘, 26 mm., 11.06 gr.

179. Obverse K1 — Reverse e24 Plate XIII
= Decius, No. 117, Herennius, No. 180
Berlin, ↑, 26 mm.

180. Obverse K2 — Reverse e24 Plate XIII
= Decius, No. 117, Herennius, No. 179
Paris, 26 mm.

Decius and Herennia

Dupondii

Issue e: ΑΥΤ Κ ΓΑ ΜΕ Κ ΤΡΑ ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΣΕΒ ΕΡΕΝ ΕΤΡΟΥΣΚΙΛΛΑ ΣΕΒ
Rev. as on Decius' issue e (See p. 49).

181. Obverse **L1** Reverse **e33** Plate XIII
= Herennius, No. 178
Paris, ↖, 27 mm.

182. Obverse **L1** Reverse **e34**
In ex. River-god r.
BMC, p. 132, No. 37, ↖, 27 mm., 13.39 gr.

183. Obverse **L1** Reverse **e35**
a) *Hunterian Coll.*, Vol. III, p. 318, No. 17, 26 mm.; b) Copenhagen, 27 mm.; c) Berlin, ↘, 27 mm.

Issue **f**: **L.**
Rev. as on Decius' issue **f** (See pp. 72-76).

184. Obverse **L1** Reverse **f21**
= Herennia, No. 176
Leningrad, ↓, 26 mm., 12.29 gr.

Decius and Herennius

Dupondii

Issue **d**: ΑΥΤ Κ Γ Μ Κ ΤΡ ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΣΕΒ ΚΥ ΕΡ ΕΤΡ Μ ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ
Rev. as on Decius' issue **d** (See pp. 62-68).

185. Obverse **M1** Reverse **d13** Plate XIII
= Herennia, No. 169
a) Paris, 25 mm.; b) Vienna, ↖, 25 mm., 11.7 gr.; c) Munich, 26 mm.

186. Obverse **M1** Reverse **d15** Plate XIII

Countermark, bust of Tyche r., in circle.
= Herennia, No. 171
Berlin, ↘, 27 mm., 10.36 gr.

187. Obverse **M1** Reverse **d16**
Berlin, ↘, 28 mm., 12.73 gr.

188. Obverse **M1** Reverse **d17**
Berlin, ↘, 27 mm.

Issue **e**: Same inscription.
Rev. as on Decius' issue **e** (See pp. 68-72).

189. Obverse **M1** Reverse **e36**
BMC, p. 132, No. 38, Pl. XVIII. 15, ↖, 26 mm., 7.63 gr.

190. Obverse **M1** Reverse **e25**
= Decius, No. 118
a) Naples, 26 mm., 11.30 gr.; b) Berlin, ↑, 26 mm.

191. Obverse **M1** Reverse **e37**
Athens, 26 mm.

Issue **f**: Same inscription.
Rev. as on Decius' issue **f** (See pp. 72-76).

192. Obverse **M1** Reverse **f23**
BMC, p. 132, No. 39, Pl. XVIII. 16, ↖, 26 mm., 11.09 gr.

Table I

The Average Weights of the Coins of Rhesaena
During the reign of Caracalla—Severus Alexander.

In comparison with the imperial coinage. Denominations (dia. in mm) after A. R. Bellinger.

Diameter about: Denomination:		30 mm *Sestertius ?*	25 mm *Dupondius* or *As*		20 mm *Semis ?*		15 mm *Triens* or *Quadrans*	
No of Catalogue								
Caracalla:								
Coins with								
Vexillum:	1						(8.34)	
	2						4.02	
	3						4.65	
	4						2.39	total
	5						2.11	32.81
	6						4.22	
	7						3.70	ave.
	8						4.77	*3.65*
	9						3.88	
	10						—	
	11						—	
	12						3.07	
	13				5.88	total		
Municipal						24.54		
Coins:	19				6.20			
	20				6.30			
	21				—	ave.		
	22				6.16	*6.13*		
Elagabalus:						total		
Coins with						11.47		
Vexillum:	14				5.09			
	15				—			
	16				6.38	ave.		
Municipal						*5.73*		
Coins:	23		14.29	total				
	24		10.30	24.59				
				ave.				
				12.29				
Severus Alexander:								total
Coins with								10.01
Vexillum:	17						3.01	
	17/I						3.35	
	18						3.65	ave.
Municipal								*3.34*
Coins:	25		—					
	26		15.19					
	27		—					
	28		—					
	29		7.91					
	30		9.21					
	31		9.18	total				
	32		—	69.47				
	33		—					
	34		—	ave.				
	35		—	*9.92*				
	36		—					
	37		10.38					
	38		—					
	39		8.40					
	40		—					
	41		9.20					
	42		—					
	43		—					
	44		—					
Average:			94.06	*10.45*	36.01	*6.00*	42.82	*3.57*

TABLE II

The Average Weights and Denominations of Imperial, Syrian, and Mesopotamian Coins from Nero to Decius.

Imperial Coinage under Nero:					5.45 g. "*Semis*"		
Syrian Coinage under Traianus:			11.53 g. "*As*" or 1½ "*As*"		5.06 g. "*Semis*"		
Imperial Coinage before 217 A.D.:	27.28 g. "*Sestertius*"	13.64 g. "*Dupondius*"		10.91 g. "*As*"			2.72 g. "*Quadrans*"
Rhesaena under Caracalla:					6.13 g. "*Semis*"	3.65 g. "*Triens*" or "*Quadrans*"	
Imperial Coinage after 217 A.D. Macrinus:	23.28 g. "*Sestertius*"	11.69 g. "*Dupondius*"		10.23 g. "*As*"			
Rhesaena under Severus Alexander			10.45 g. "*Dupondius*" or "*As*"		5.73 g. "*Semis*"	3.34 g. "*Triens*" or "*Quadrans*"	
Imperial Coinage after 247 A.D. Philippus Arabs: and Traianus Decius:	20.46 g. "*Sestertius*"	10.23 g. "*Dupondius*"		9.63 g. "*As*"		3.21 g. "*Triens*," "*Quadrans*" or "*Semis*"	
Rhesaena under Traianus Decius 249–251 A.D.:		12.14 g. "*Dupondius*"			6.27 g. "*Semis*"	3.39 g. "*Triens*" or "*Quadrans*"	

TABLE III

Obverse and Reverse Inscriptions under Trajan Decius

Obverse type	Decius						Etruscilla			Herennius	Decius and Etruscilla	Decius and Herennius
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M
Reverse type a		SO SR	SO SR		SO SR		O1 SR	O2 SR				
b	SO SR	SO SR	SO SR			SO SR	O1 SR	O2 SR				
c		SO SR	SO SR		SO SR	SO SR	O1 SR	O2 SR	O3 SR			
d		LO LR	LO LR	LO LR	SO LR				O4 LR			LR
e			LO LR	LO LR	SO LR				O4 LR	LR	LR	LR
f			LO LR	LO LR					O4 LR			LR

SO = short obverse inscription for Decius.
LO = long obverse inscription for Decius.
O1, 2, 3, 4 = various obverse inscriptions for Etruscilla.
The obverses on types K L M are invariable.

SR = short reverse inscription.
LR = long reverse inscription. See above, pp. 46f.

TABLE IV. The Dupondii of Rhesaena during the

Obverse = Catalogue Number Reverse =	Decius					
	A	B	C	D	E	F
a Tyche sitting l.		B1 45 a1 B2 46 a2	C1 47 a3 C1 48 a4 C1 49 a5 C2 50 a6 C2 51 a7		E1 52 a8	
b Temple with roof	A1 53 b1 A1 54 b2 A2 55 b3	B1 56 b3 B2 57 b4 B2 58 b5	C2 59 b6 C2 60 b7 C2 61 b8 C2 62 b9		?	F1 63 b8 F1 64 b10
c Temple without roof		B2 65 c1	C1 66 c2 C2 67 c3 C2 68 c4 C2 69 c5 C2 70 c6 C2 71 c7 C2 72 c8		E1 73 c9 E1 74 c10 E1 75 c3 E1 76 c11 E1 77 c12 E1 78 c13	F1 79 c14
d Concordia		B3 80 d1	C3 81 d2 C3 82 d3 C3 83 d4 C4 84 d1 C5 85 d5 C5 86 d6 C6 87 d7	D1 88 d8 D1 89 d9	E1 90 d10 E1 91 d11 E1 92 d12 E1 93 d4	
e Deductio coloniae			C3 94 e1 C5 95 e2 C5 96 e3 C5 97 e4 C5 98 e5 C5 99 e6 C6 100 e7 C6 101 e8 C6 102 e9 C7 103 e10 C7 104 e11 C7 105 e12 C8 106 e13 C9 107 e14 C10 108 e15 C10 109 e16 C10 110 e17 C10 111 e18 C10 112 e19	D1 113 e20 D1 114 e21 D2 115 e22 D3 116 e23 D3 117 e24 D3 118 e25 D3 119 e26	E1 120 e1 E1 121 e27 E1 122 e28 E1 123 e29 E1 124 e30	

reign of Trajan Decius. Obverse and Reverse Dies.

Etruscilla			Herennius	Decius and Etruscilla	Decius and Herennius	
G	H	I	K	L	M	Reverse: Dies:
G1 157 a1	H1 158 a9 H1 159 a10 H1 160 a11					11
G1 161 b1 G1 162 b3	H1 163 b11					11
G1 164 c15	H1 165 c2	I1 166 c16 I1 167 c17 I2 168 c18				18
		I3 169 d13 I3 170 d14 I4 171 d15			M1 185 d13 M1 186 d15 M1 187 d16 M1 188 d17	17
		I2 172 e31 I3 173 e25 I3 174 e32	K1 178 e33 K1 179 e24 K2 180 e24	L1 181 e33 L1 182 e34 L1 183 e35	M1 189 e36 M1 190 e25 M1 191 e37	37

Table IV. The Dupondii of Rhesaena during the reign

Obverse = Catalogue Number Reverse =	Decius					
	A	B	C	D	E	F
f Fortuna			C5 125 f1 C5 126 f2 C5 127 f3 C5 128 f4 C5 129 f5 C6 130 f6 C6 131 f7 C6 132 f8 C7 133 f9 C10 134 f10 C11 135 f11 C12 136 f11 C12 137 f12 C12 138 f13 C12 139 f14 C12 140 f15 C12 141 f16 C13 142 f17 C14 143 f18	D4 144 f19		
Obverse Dies:	2	3	14	4	1	1

of Trajan Decius. Obverse and Reverse Dies.—*Continued.*

Etruscilla			Herennius	Decius and Etruscilla	Decius and Herennius	
G	H	I	K	L	M	Reverse Dies:
		I3 175 f20		L1 184 f21	M1 192 f23	
		I3 176 f21				
		I3 177 f22	?			
						23
						117
	1	4	2	1	1	35

Table V.
Medium and Small Copper Coinage of Rhesaena under Decius

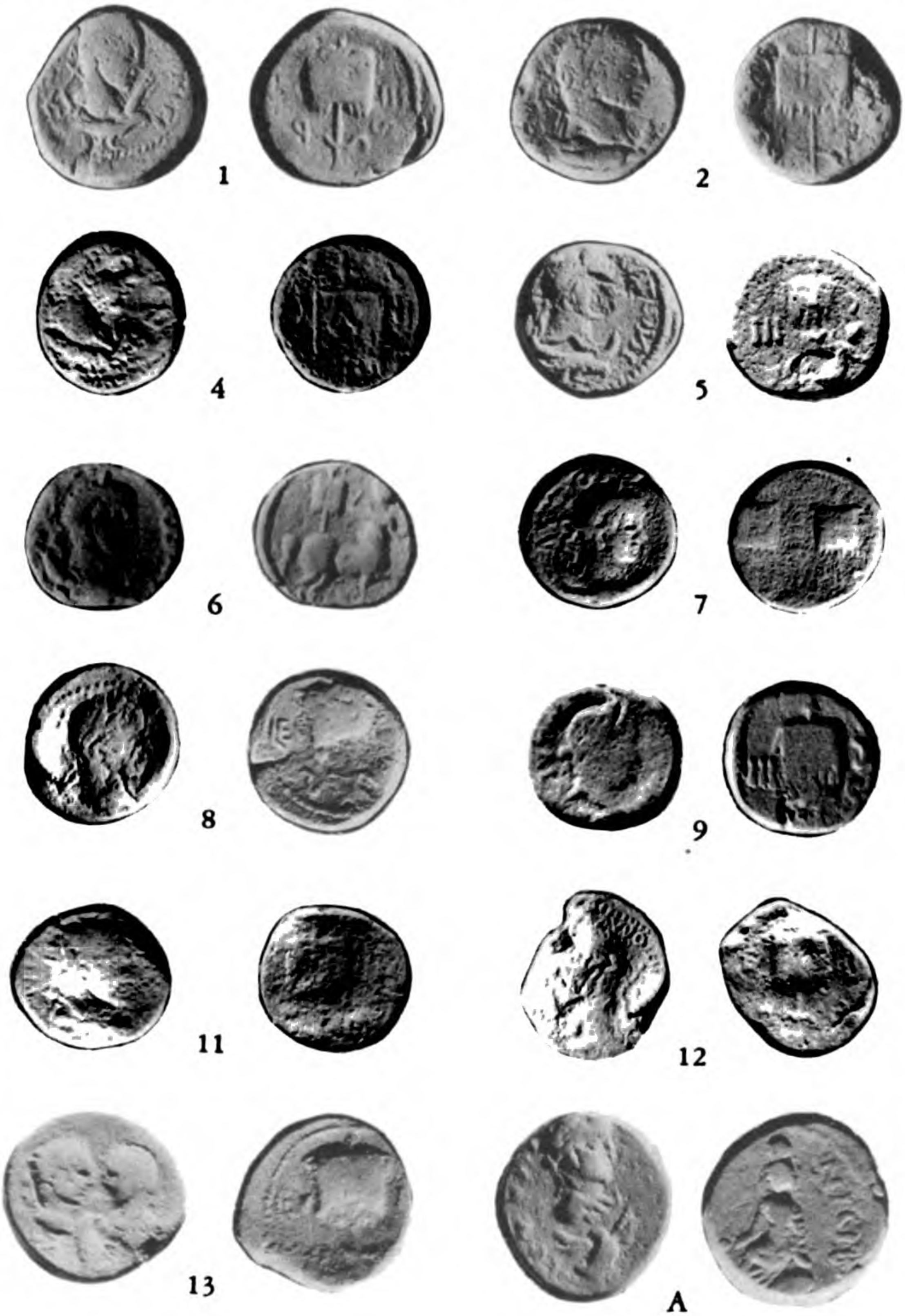
Issue	Medium Copper Coins, Semis		Small Copper Coins, Triens or Quadrans
	Obverse **B** to right, from back, laureate, nude	Obverse **C** to right, from back, laureate, with paludamentum	Obverse **B** to right, from back, laureate, nude
a Tyche sitting left			**ΑΥΤ ΚΓ ΜΚ ΤΡ ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΣΕΒ ΣΕΠ ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ LEG IIIP**
b Temple with roof			**B1 No. 151 v1**
c Temple without roof			
d Concordia	**ΑΥΤ Κ ΓΜΚΥ ΣΕΠ ΚΟΛ ΡΗΣ** **B1 No. 145 d1** **B1 No. 146 d2** **B1 No. 147 d3**	**ΤΡΑ ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΣΕΒ ΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ LIIIP** **C1 No. 148 d3** **C1 No. 149 d4** **C1 No. 150 d5**	**ΑΥΤ ΚΓ ΜΚ ΤΡ ΔΕΚΙΟΣ ΣΕΒ ΣΕΠ ΚΟΛ ΡΗΣΑΙΝΗΣΙΩΝ LEG IIIP** **B2 No. 152 V2** **B2 No. 153 V3** **B2 No. 154 V4** **B2 No. 155 V5** **B2 No. 156 V6**

Reverse-dies of the Semis: d1–d5. Reverse-dies of the Triens (Quadrans): V (= verso) 1–V6.

TABLE VI.

PROBABLE TIME OF COINAGE
of the Coins of Rhesaena

Emperor:	Time of Coinage:
Caracalla:	
First Municipal coins Nos. 19–23	About 211–213/14
First *Vexillum-coins* Nos. 1–12	About 216–2.IV.217
Vexillum-coin No. 13	About 211–217
Elagabalus:	
Second *Vexillum-coins* Nos. 14–16	After May 16, 218–219
Second Municipal coins Nos. 23–24	About 219–March, 222
Severus Alexander:	
Third *Vexillum-coins* Nos. 17, 17/I, 18	Perhaps March 222–225
Third Municipal coins Nos. 25–44	About 232–233
Trajan Decius and his family:	
Dupondii **a,b,c**: Nos. 45–79, 157–168; First *Triens* No. 151	About end of 249-first half of 250
Dupondii: Nos. 80–93, 169–171, 185–188; *Semis* Nos. 145–150; Second *Triens* Nos. 152–156	Probably second half of 250
Dupondii **e,f**: Nos. 94–144, 172–177, 178–180, 181–184, 189–192	About end of 250-first half of 251



1-13 VEXILLUM—COINS OF CARACALLA

A BRONZE OF CARACALLA FROM NISIBIS

B

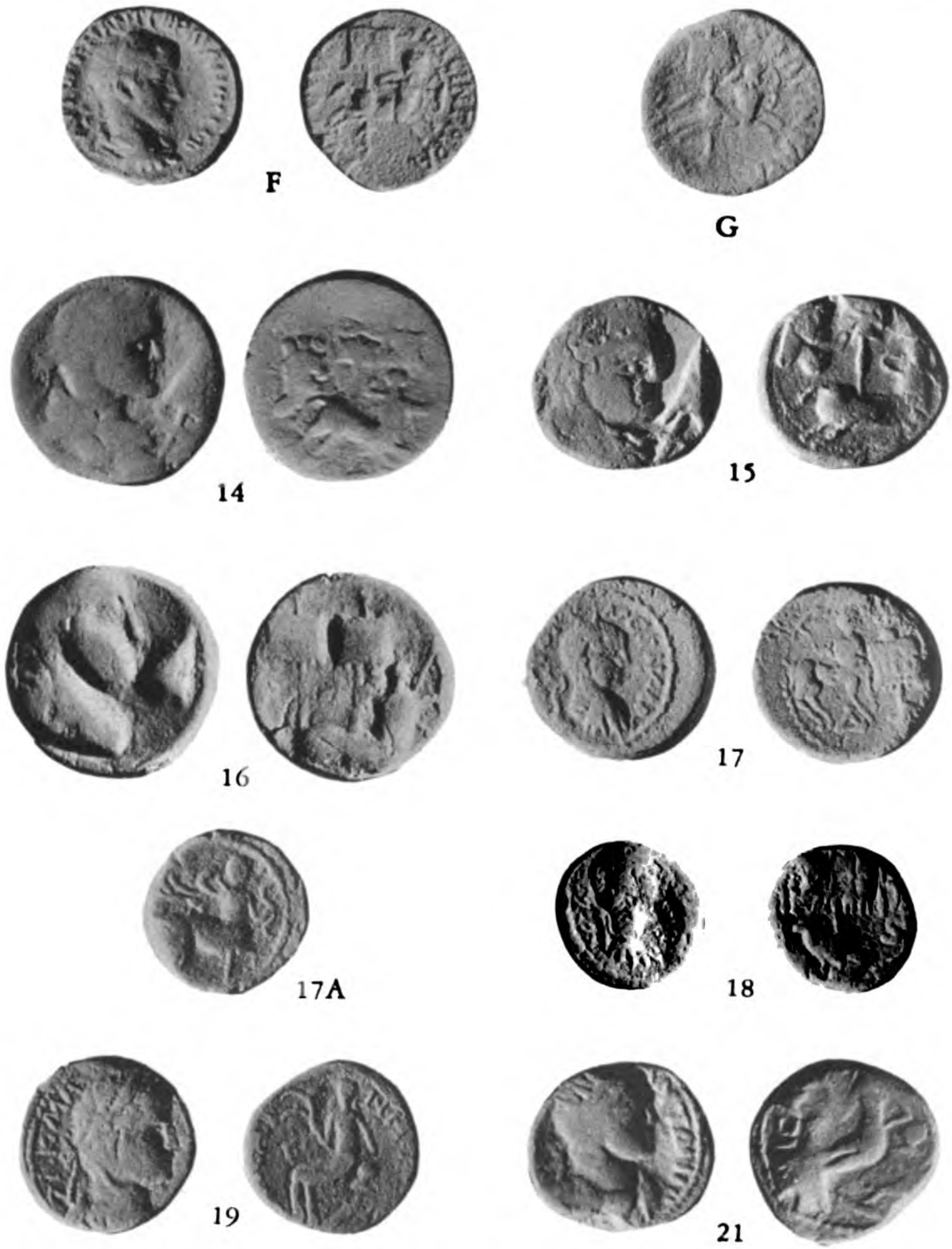
C

D

E

B IMPERIAL BRONZE OF DAMASCUS C IMPERIAL BRONZE OF TYRE

D, E GALLIENUS, SECUNDA PARTHICA
(Enlarged)



F, G COINS OF GORDIAN III FROM SINGARA

14-16 ELAGABALUS, VEXILLUM COINS

17-18 SEVERUS ALEXANDER, VEXILLUM COINS

19-20 CARACALLA, AUTONOMUS COINS


23


24


26


27


32


28


30

23-24 ELAGABALUS
26-32 SEVERUS ALEXANDER

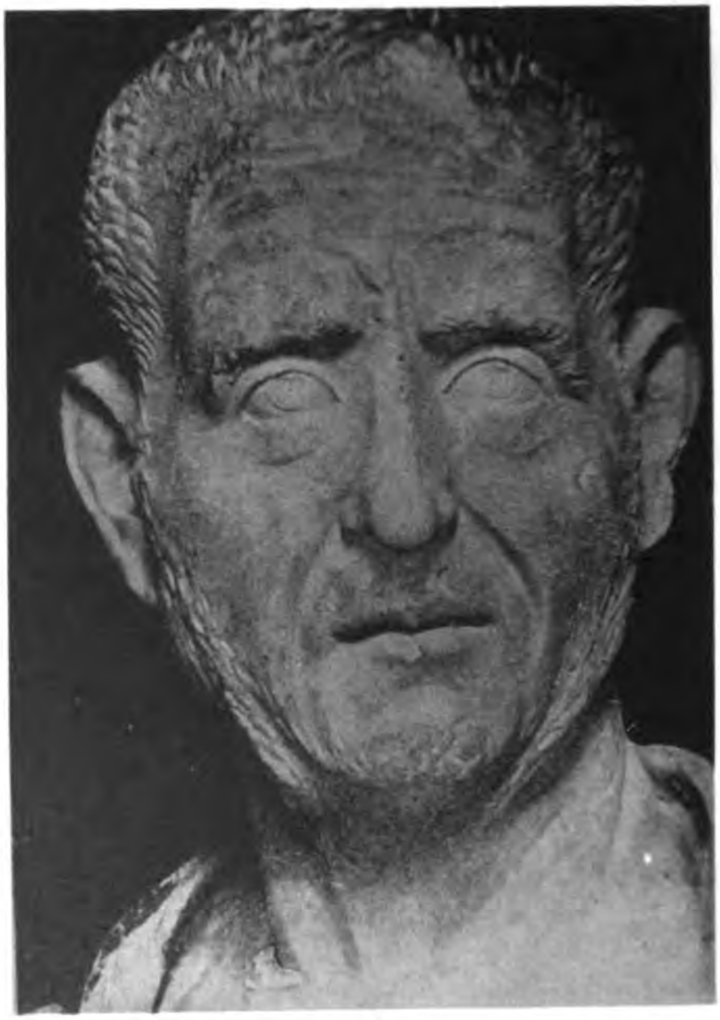


37 40 41




42 43


SEVERUS ALEXANDER



A

B

C

A TRAJAN DECIUS. BUST IN THE CAPITOLINE MUSEUM

B SESTERTIUS OF DECIUS C SESTERTIUS OF HERENNIA


45a

46

50




52

53



58a

62

64

TRAJAN DECIUS



68a

66

74



77b



79

81c

84



TRAJAN DECIUS

87I

87b

90

89b

95

103

111

116

113

TRAJAN DECIUS

120a

125

132a

123

133

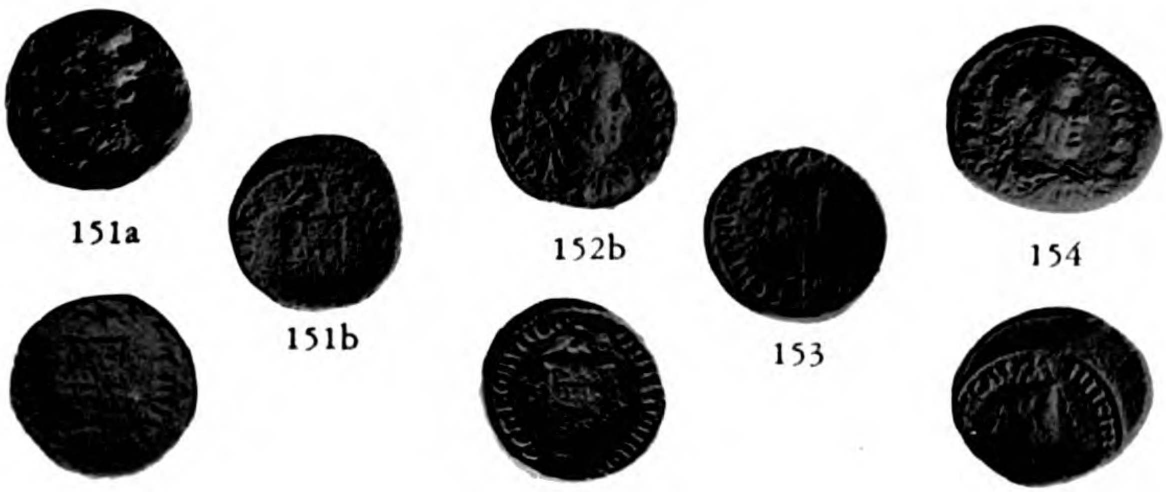
140

141

TRAJAN DECIUS

145 147 149a

146b



151a 152b 154

151b 153

155a 156a

TRAJAN DECIUS

158

160

162a

163

166a

164

168

HERENNIA ETRUSCILLA



169a 171 179a



186

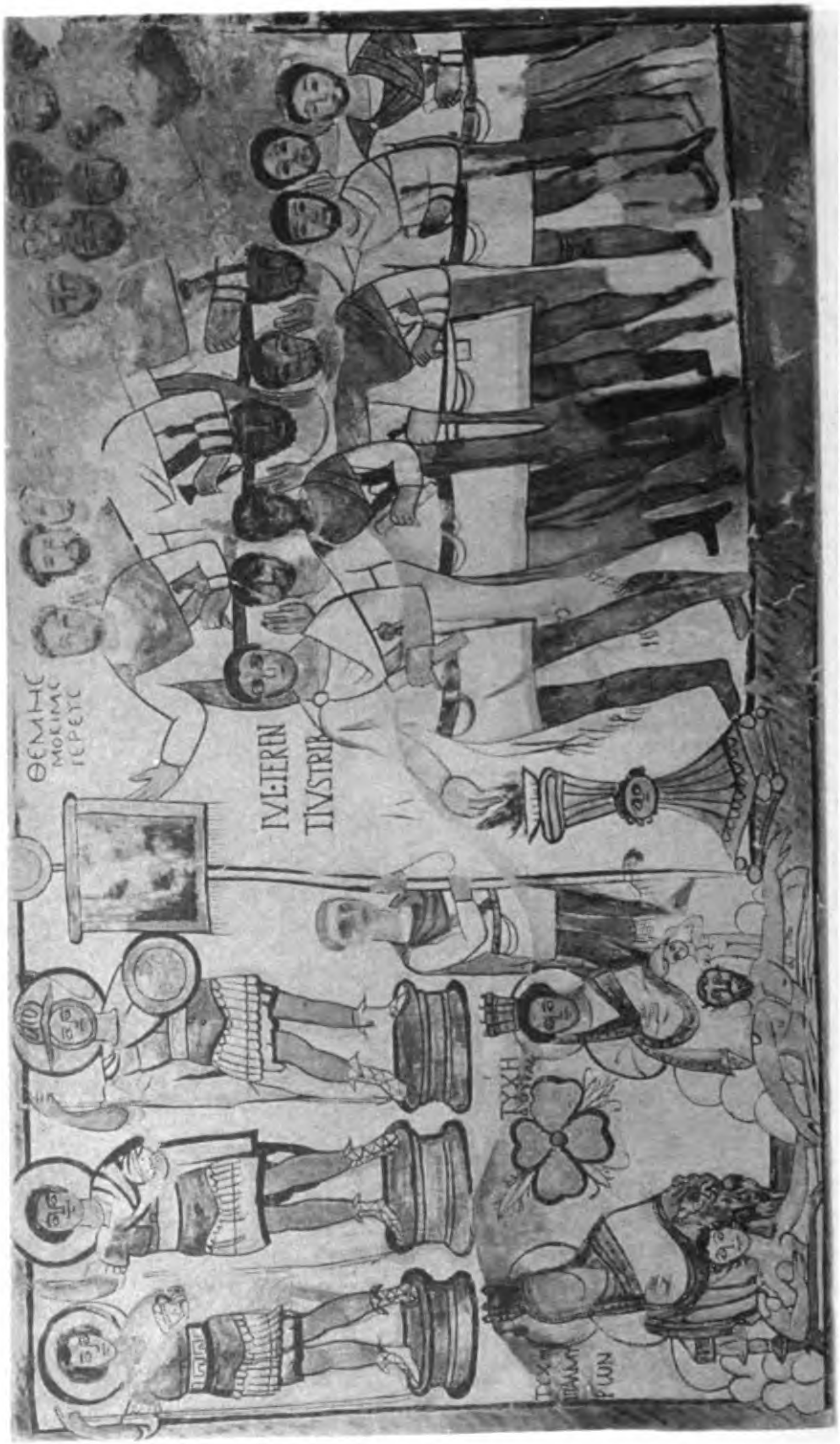


180 181 185a



169a, 171 HERENNIA ETRUSCILLA; 179a, 180 HERENNIUS ETRUSCUS

181 DECIUS AND HERENNIA; 185a, 186 DECIUS AND HERENNIUS



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NUMISMATIC NOTES
AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 109

COINS OF TINGI WITH LATIN LEGENDS

BY

ALINE ABAECHERLI BOYCE

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
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Numismatic Notes and Monographs is devoted to essays and treatises on subjects relating to coins, paper money, medals and decorations.

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COINS OF TINGI WITH LATIN LEGENDS

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The ancient coinage of the towns of northwestern Africa usually has Punic legends. Except for the regal issues of Bogud II, Bocchus III, Juba II and his son Ptolemaeus, coins of Mauretania with Latin legends are scarce. Cirta in Numidia struck some coins with Latin legends under the regime of the Roman adventurer P. Sittius, an ex-Catilinarian turned mercenary who was given control of the territory as a reward for services to Caesar.[1] In Mauretania, Tingi, the modern Tangier, struck coins with Latin legends early in the imperial period, while coins attributed to Babba were struck under Claudius and Nero. From Caesarea (Iol) and Lix there are autonomous coins with the name of the town in Latin.

The few known coins with Latin legends struck at Tingi[2] were issued in the name of the town and sev-

[1] L. Müller, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique,* III, 64–65, 194; cf. his attribution in the Suppl. to Vol. III, p. 67; E. Muret, "Monnaies rares ou inédites du Cabinet de France," in *Rev. Num.*, ser. 3, vol. I (1883), pp. 67–69; E. Babelon, "Quelques remarques sur des monnaies d'Afrique et d'Espagne, III," in *Rev. Num.*, ser. 3, vol. VII (1889), pp. 502–506; L. Charrier, *Description des monnaies de la Numidie et de la Maurétanie* (Macon, 1912), p. 26, nos. 73–75 (Pl. VI); Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, s.v.* "Sittius," no. 3, cols. 409–11; St. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord,* VIII (Paris, 1928), 150–161.

[2] The name was variously given by ancient authorities, who never

eral authorities, namely, Augustus, Agrippa, a certain A. Allienus, and finally, local officials called *quattuorviri iure dicundo*. New light can be thrown on this coinage by specimens in the E. T. Newell Collection, which now comprises the chief portion of the ancient coins at the Museum of the American Numismatic Society. These coins provide the names of moneyers not known before, and they add to known types two examples of a type which can definitely be dated in the reign of Tiberius. They are, furthermore, the first coins, so far as I know, to reveal the fact that the local officials of the town were called quattuorviri.

Recently Mr. Sydney P. Noe called my attention to a bronze coin in the Newell Collection which was published briefly by Mr. Edward T. Newell in *The*

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apply to it the Julian name which appears on the coins. (Pliny, *N.H.*, V, 2 is regarded as having erred in associating the name of the Spanish town Julia Traducta with Tingi; see pp. 16–20 of this paper.) This suggests the persistence of the Punic name at the expense of the longer, more formal Roman title. There is no single form of the town's name in Punic Greek, or Latin. The form most commonly used by Latin writers was Tingum, with Tinge and Tingi as variants; by Greek writers, Τίγγις with variants (consult *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. VIII, pt. 2, p. 854; Windberg in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, vol. VI A, *s.v.* "Tingis," cols. 2517–20). IVL TIN and IVL TING occur on the coins with Latin legends. The name of the town might have been *Julia Tingi*, comparable, for instance, to *Col. Jul. Gem. Acci* (for the Celtiberian Acci), or to *Calagurri Julia* in Spain. Gsell, *op. cit.*, VIII, 200, note 5, accepts this form. But *Julium Tingum*, and especially *Julia Tingitana* are further possibilities; cf. a coin cited by Charrier, *op. cit.*, p. 74, no. 134 (Pl. XI), with the fragmentary reverse legend ...GITAN (from Lorichs, *Recherches numismatiques*, Pl. XLI) and CIL VIII, 21813: *populus Tingitanus;* also the inscription on p. 13 of this paper: *colon*(*iae*) [*Tingi*]*tan*(*ae*).

American Journal of Numismatics, Vol. XLVIII (1914), p. 72, Pl. IX. It may be described as follows:

1. *Obv.* Head of Baal, facing. Behind head, transverse sceptre. Around rim,
Q · FABIVS · FABVLLVS · LAPEL IVS SENECA ·
Rev. Two ears of corn, between which, reading from bottom to top, IVL TING. Around rim,
EX · D · D IV · VIR · IVR · D ·
28 mm. 17.4 grams ANS (ETN), PLATE I, no. 2

The reading of the ligature, a common epigraphical feature of the coins of Tingi, is mine.

In searching for publications of this coin type I found an illustration of it in A. Delgado's *Nuevo Método de Clasificacion de las Medallas Autónomas di España* (Seville, 1873), II, 356 and Pl. LXXXIII, 18; but the obverse legend was illegible and the drawing only indicated the presence of letters. Nor was there a trace of the sceptre shown behind the head of Baal on the Newell specimen. The importance of the legend with the names of the moneyers on the Newell specimen was at once apparent: unless names of other officials appear on coins of the same type and denomination, we may assume that the coin illustrated by Delgado, like the Newell specimen, was minted by the quattuorviri Q. Fabius and his colleague L. Aurelius Seneca. The attribution of the coin illustrated by Delgado to Tingi is confirmed by the occurrence of IVL TING on the Newell specimen.

The discovery of the coin described above led me to search for other coins of the Roman period struck

at this mint designated as IVL TING. In the Mauretania tray I found four coins with Latin legends, representing two types. There were two specimens of each type. The first set bears the name of three officials and is described below:

2. *Obv.* Head of Astarte to r. In front, EX D D; the whole surrounded by a laurel wreath.

Rev. Two ears of corn; between them, L · ÆM · L VAL · Around rim, Q FAB · $\overline{\text{IV}}$ Border of dots.

25 mm. 10.0 grams ANS (ETN) PLATE I, no. 1

3. Similar.

Obv. EX D D

Rev. [L A]E M[L VAL] Q FAB

26 mm. 9.61 grams ANS (ETN) PLATE I, no. 3

The name Q. FAB. (Quintus Fabius) will be recognized at once as having occurred on No. 1, with the addition there, however, of the cognomen FABULLUS. The name of the fourth official is illegible on both Nos. 2 and 3 because of their worn condition at this point, but on his label for the two specimens Mr. Newell had indicated the name of a fourth official, C. IVL(ius) ATT(icus). A fourth name is indeed required here, for, as we have seen, the executive college at Tingi was made up of four men called quattuorviri, four being the regular number in the local collegia, though, in the titulature of municipal officialdom, the four are more frequently designated in extant coins and inscriptions as two groups of two

men each, duoviri iure dicundo (who take precedence) and duoviri aediles (of lesser rank). The two chief men could strike without the aediles, as they did on No. 1, and the collegium could strike as a whole. But it would be strange to have only *three* quattuorviri mentioned as the minting authorities.[3] Since no trace of the name C. IVL(ius) ATT(icus) appears on either of the specimens, it is to be assumed that Mr. Newell derived the name of the fourth moneyer from its occurrence on a coin of identical type in Delgado (*op. cit.*, p. 356 and Pl. LXXXIII, 19), where, of the officials' names, *only* that of C. Iulius Atticus (C. IVL. ATTIC.) is legible. The Newell coins in the Society's collection therefore, and the Delgado specimen, are mutually supplementary in establishing a complete list of the quattuorviri under whom Nos. 2 and 3 were struck. On these pieces the name of the town does not appear, probably because the space was taken up by the names of the two lesser quattuorviri. The name of the town might have occurred on the obverse, but no trace of it is evident. There is no doubt about the attribution of the coins to Tingi, however, for their obverse and reverse types resemble the types of other coins bearing the name of this

[3] Occasionally we find only one duovir or one quattuorvir striking, as sometimes at Carteia in Spain and at Cirta, Clypea, and Utica in Africa; but I do not know of any case where three of four municipal officials served as moneyers. At Clunia in Spain four men were moneyers, as at Tingi (A. Heiss, *Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne,* Paris, 1870, pp. 229–230). Coins attributed to Parium in Mysia bear the names of duoviri, a sacerdos, and a *praefectus pro duoviro* (W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Mysia,* London, 1892, pp. 102–103).

mint in the Punic and Latin periods. The identification would be further confirmed if it could be shown that Q. Fabius Fabullus, who struck No. 1 with L. Aurelius Seneca is the Q. Fab(ius) who struck Nos. 2 and 3 along with L. Aemilius, L. Valerius, and C. Iulius Atticus. The identification of Q. Fabius Fabullus and Q. Fab. would, moreover, be of further importance, for if the names represent the same man, No. 1 and Nos. 2 and 3 are close in date.

The coins described above must be dated after 38 B.C., when Augustus conferred citizenship on the *Tingitani*,[4] for our moneyers bear names of Roman citizens, all of them adopted from names of old and prominent Roman families. These coins, however, may not have been the earliest coins with Latin legends struck at Tingi. There are bronze pieces bearing the name of the town in Latin and portraits of Augustus or Agrippa. The reverse legends of these coins are Punic. The types, of which there are no specimens at the American Numismatic Society, are described below. Along with them we shall list another piece bearing a portrait of Augustus, signed by a certain A. Allienus.

4. *Obv.* Head of Augustus to r. Behind, IVL TIN In front, AVGVST

Rev. Head of Baal facing. To r., transverse sceptre. Around rim, to l., [illegible]

[4] Cass. Dio 48, 45, 3.

L. Müller, *Num. de l'Anc. Afrique*, III, 146.
A. Delgado, *Nuevo Método de Clasificacion de las Medallas Autónomas di España*, II, 355–356, Pl. LXXXIII, no. 14.
L. Charrier, *Description des monnaies de la Numidie et de la Maurétanie*, p. 74, no. 132 (Pl. XI).

PLATE II, no. 4

5. *Obv.* Head of Agrippa to l. In front, M A G R I Behind head, P P A I V L TIN

Rev. Similar to no. 4.

Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
Delgado, *op. cit.*, p. 356; Pl. LXXXIII, 15.
Charrier, *op. cit.*, p. 74, no. 133 (Pl. XI).

PLATE II, no. 5

6. *Obv.* Head of Augustus to r. In front, AVGVS The whole in wreath.

Rev. Head of Baal, facing, between two ears of corn. Around rim, A ALLIENVS

Charrier, *op. cit.*, p. 74, no. 135 (Pl. XI).

PLATE II, no. 6

No quattuorviri are indicated on any of these coins. The fact that for his reverse type Allienus combined two types that appeared separately on the local coinage of the quattuorviri (as well as on the local Punic coinage) does not require us to conclude that the coins of Allienus were struck at Tingi later than No. 1. The Baal head and the corn ears are

familiar types of the coinage with Punic legends,[5] the common source to which both Allienus and the local moneyers went for their types.

The A. Allienus who struck at Tingi is probably no other than the erstwhile proconsul in Sicily, once a moneyer in Rome, who helped Caesar by dispatching forces against the Pompeians in Africa, and later joined the Republicans in the East.[6] Other prominent Romans were partisans of Caesar, joined the Republicans after his assassination, and later went over to Octavian against Antony. The coins of Allienus and the issue bearing the name and portrait of Augustus must date after 27 B.C. since the title Augustus was conferred at that time.[7] The type of Agrippa with the name IVL TIN may be regarded as of the same date. Since Agrippa died in 12 B.C.[8] we can place the coin bearing his portrait and the similar coin with Augustus' portrait between the years 27 and 12 B.C., an early date within the period being the more probable.

The coinage of Allienus was hardly local, for al-

[5] The facing Baal head also appears on coins of Semes (Regling, "Zum Fund von Jubadenaren in Alkasar," in *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, 1910, p. 27) and apparently on coins of Emerita in Lusitania. Delgado, *op. cit.*, p. 11, no. 32 (Pl. XXI); a specimen in the Newell Collection.

[6] Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (London, 1910), II, p. 559; Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* "Allienus," col. 1585.

[7] January 16, 27 B.C. For the evidence see Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* "Augustus," col. 2370.

[8] Vell. Pat. II, 96, 1; Livy, *Epit.* 138; Pliny, *N.H.*, VII, 8 (6), 45–46; Dio, LIV, 28, 3.

though it bore local types on the reverse, neither the town nor the moneyers are mentioned, one of which would seem to be required for a strictly local issue. The name of an imperial legate meant that it was struck under authority transcending mere local rights, even though it be supposed that the coinage was struck for such an event as the reopening of the local mint under a Roman charter. In any case, the local types on the reverse show that it was minted at Tingi.[9]

The bilingual coins with the heads of Augustus and Agrippa were, on the other hand, clearly local, since they were issued by the town in its own name. The coins bore both Punic and Latin legends, Latin on the portrait side (name of Augustus or Agrippa and name of town), and Punic on the reverse, where the name as well as the head of the local Baal appeared. We have indicated in all cases the earliest date at which the coins could have been struck, 38 B.C. for the coins of the quattuorviri, and 27 for the bilingual coins bearing the names of Augustus and Agrippa. It is worth while to attempt to indicate within this chronological setting the relative date of the coinages described thus far. The existence of Punic as well as Latin legends on the coins honoring Augustus and Agrippa suggests that these were earlier than the coins of the quattuorviri, which bear only Latin legends.

[9] It is interesting to note that under the Roman legate and Roman local government the local types of the Punic coinage are respected and kept, and that in the case of Allienus two local types appear together on the reverse with the legate's name.

To be sure, the quattuorviri might have struck at any time after the town was invested with citizenship in 38 B.C. But once they had begun to strike using Latin legends, it would appear strange if the town were later to strike bilingual coins honoring Augustus and Agrippa.[10] I offer the following as a suggested chronological order:

1. Allienus; not local but struck at local mint
2. Bilingual coins with portraits of Augustus and Agrippa
3. Coins of the quattuorviri.

The coinage of Allienus appears to represent the issue of an imperial legate struck at Tingi before the local coinage under Rome was issued. It is tempting to suppose that the most likely period for an Augustan legate to issue coins in Mauretania was before 25 B.C., when Numidia and Mauretania (though not all towns) became the kingdom of Juba II. In this case the coinage of Allienus would fall within the period 27–25 B.C. Our information about Mauretania, however, is too scanty for us to establish such a close dating of the coins with certainty. When the town issued coins in the names of Augustus and Agrippa, quite possibly the two men were being honored in the

[10] In Spain Celtiberian or Punic legends thus gave way to Latin. For bilingual coins in Spain see Heiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 216, 218–219, 285, 302–303, 316, 323, 341, 353, 356, 365–366, 371, 381, 412, 421–422. Heiss discusses the bilingual coinage on pp. 58–59. In Africa bilingual coins that can be dated seem to end with Bocchus III or soon thereafter. At any rate, Juba II does not employ them, except at Semes, and of course on the joint coinage with his queen, who uses Greek.

capacity of honorary quattuorviri, in which case the officials acting for them would have been praefecti, as we know they were at Carthago Nova in Spain.[11] Information about Agrippa's activities in this region, alas, is lacking. His statistical geography for this region is thought to have been compiled between 25 and 12 B.C., the latter being the date of his death. At Gades, across the straits, he was patronus and parens municipii.[12] Finally, Tingi issued coins in the name of its local presiding officials, the quattuorviri. We know from Nos. 1–3 that the moneyers signed in two ways: either the two quattuorviri of the higher status signed alone, with their full title in abbreviated form (IV VIR IVR D), or the college of four signed as a whole, their official status being indicated only by the general title IV (VIR). Evidently the quattuorviri iure dicundo alone signed the higher denomination of the large bronze pieces.[13]

The chief officials at Tingi were not always called quattuorviri. Two pieces of evidence, though fragmentary, point to a time when the executive college was made up of duoviri iure dicundo and aediles. The first is a coin illustrated in Delgado (*op. cit.*, p. 356

[11] F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, Princeton, 1926, p. 63; Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* "Duovir," col. 1819.

[12] Heiss, *op. cit.*, p. 350, nos. 42–46 (Pl. LIII); Müller, *op. cit.*, III, 150.

[13] The two higher officials signed the larger denomination at Celsa, Turiaso, Caligurris (G. F. Hill, *Notes on the Ancient Coinage of Hispania Citerior* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs* no. 50), The American Numismatic Society, 1931, pp. 81, 167, 176–179 and at Cluny (Heiss, *op. cit.*, p. 230).

and Pl. LXXXIII, no. 16); variations of its legends are listed by R. Münsterberg, *Die Beamtennamen auf den griechischen Münzen,* Wien, 1914 (*Sonderdruck aus der Numismatischen Zeitschrift* 1911, 1912, 1914), p. 4 = 72, who does not, however, reproduce exactly the legend as given by Delgado.

7. *Obv.* Head of Baal to r. Around rim,

ÆE VL POL ÆD

Rev. Two corn ears. Between them ⌒ Around rim TING MAIOR " IO N·II·VIR

PLATE III, no. 7

The legend of the coin illustrated in Delgado seems to indicate that it was issued by at least one duovir and one aedile. The word *maior* following TING, together with the absence of IVL and the presence of the crescent symbol which does not appear on other coins with Latin legends, suggests a change in political status or a distinction between groups, i.e., a double community in the territory;[14] but whether it implies colonial status is doubtful. The possibility that Tingi passed from the status of an oppidum civium Romanorum to a municipium of higher rank before it finally became a colony must not be overlooked. The Delgado coin may represent some such early stage.

The second piece of evidence indicating a change

[14] For such communities see Kornemann in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie, s.v.* "conventus," cols. 1187–1188; "municipium," cols. 598, 609; cf. col. 547, no. 234; col. 531, no. 109.

in Tingi's status is a sepulchral inscription which shows that the town became a colony with duoviri:

Q. Aelius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Verecundus IIvir colon(iae) [Tingi]tan(ae) flamen colon(iae) eiusdem, ann(is) LX. H(ic) s(itus) e(st). S(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis). Q. Aelius Faustio lib(ertus) idemque heres redempto a coheredibus suis solo et aedificio memoria optimi patr(is) praestitit.[15]

"Quintus Aelius Verecundus, son of Quintus, member of the tribus Galeria, duovir of the colony of Tingi, priest of the same colony, lies here, after having lived for sixty years. Upon you may the earth rest light! Quintus Aelius Faustio, his freedman and likewise his heir, bought the ground and the structure from his co-heirs, and performed this office in memory of the best of fathers."

The only letters that need to be supplied in this otherwise perfectly preserved inscription are those which form the essential part of the town's name! There is, however, not much doubt about the correctness of the restoration [TINGI]TANAE. Traces of lower portions of the missing letters make the restoration certain, as does the amount of space to be filled. Our task therefore is to try to learn when Tingi's status was changed to a colonia with duoviri.

It seems clear from literary sources as well as from our inscription that Tingi eventually became a colony.

[15] The inscription was published by L. Chatelain and J. Carcopino, with a good photograph, on pp. 159–160 of "Epitaphes romaines de Tingi," in the *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1934; *Rev. Arch.*, ser. 6, vol. VI (1935), p. 222, no. 63.

Pliny (*Naturalis Historia,* V, 2) and the Antonine and Ravenna itineraries indicate this.[16] It is fairly well established that other names for local presiding officials gave way to the term duoviri in the course of the first century A.D. This development may be regarded as completed in the time of the Flavians. The change is indicated in Spanish municipal law and in a Spanish inscription concerning the refounding of a town by Vespasian.[17] A town need not become a colony to undergo this change in terminology, but if a town with quattuorviri became a colony, these men were likely to be duoviri thereafter. The sepulchral inscription of Q. Aelius Vereccundus shows that both developments had taken place at Tingi before Aelius' death. But since his name suggests that the inscription may be no earlier than the second century, nothing significant for us can be learned of the date of the colony's founding from this source.

[16] *Itineraria Romana,* vol. I: *Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigense* (Leipzig, 1929), ed. O. Cuntz, p. 1, *Tingi colonia;* vol. II: *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica* (Leipzig, 1940), ed. J. Schmetz, p. 42, *Tingi colonia.*

[17] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum,* vol. II, 1963, ch. 24; Abbott and Johnson, *op. cit.,* p. 370; W. Liebenam, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie, s.v.* "duoviri," col. 1805; *CIL,* vol. II, 1423. Cf. 1305, 1314, 1315, 1470, 1727, 1730, 1731, 4464, 4466. The change in title may have taken place in accordance with a general municipal law. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung in römischen Kaiserreiche,* Leipzig, 1900, p. 252, makes an observation which may appropriately be quoted here: "Wer die lange Reihe der lateinischen Inschriften, welche von städtischen Beamten Kunde geben, durchmustert, gewinnt alsbald den Eindruck, dass die kommunale Verfassung unter einen mächtigen Willen gebeugt in der Kaiserzeit immer einformiger wird."

There is no evidence for a colony at Tingi under Augustus. Carcopino's conviction that Tingi was an Augustan colony is based on evidence that is purely circumstantial,[18] and on the same kind of evidence a case can be made for believing that the town was not a colony at this early date. The coins of Tingi do not indicate its status, since the ethnic is merely IVL TIN, IVL TING, IVL TINGI. The absence of COL or C does not prove that a minting town had no colonial status.[19] Yet the practice of the mints of Spain

[18] In the *Bulletin des Antiquaires de France*, 1934, pp. 165–166, Carcopino cites the inscription on p. 13 of this paper to support his previous claim (in *Hesperis*, vol. XVII, 1933, "Volubilis regiae Iubae," pp. 9–10, 17, 20) that Tingi was a colonial foundation of Octavian and was, like Zilis (see Pliny, *N.H.*, V, 2), attached to Baetica. He notes that Aelius Verecundus belonged to the *tribus Galeria*, the tribe to which Octavian assigned all Roman or Latin colonies he constituted in Spain (W. Kubitschek, *De Romanorum Tribuum Origine ac Propagatione*, p. 188). The fact is that the tribus Galeria was not thus generally shared by such colonies in Spain, as a glance at Kornemann's list in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie, s.v.* "coloniae," will show. Nor was the assignment of the Spanish colonies to the tribus Galeria only an Octavian or Augustan assignment. The Galeria is, moreover, conspicuous in the Spanish imperial province of Tarraconensis rather than in the senatorial province of Baetica, which had the closest relations with Mauretania across the straits.

[19] For instance, "COL" did not appear regularly with the name of the town on the coinage of Corinth until the time of Domitian (the legend GEN COL COR describing the type of the colony's genius struck for Nero and Agrippina being the exception), though the names of the duoviri appeared through the time of Galba (B. V. Head, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum. Corinth, etc.*, London, 1889, pp. 58–93; Earl Fox, "The Duoviri of Corinth," in *Journ. Internat. d'Archéol. Numismatique*, II [1899], 89–116; *Corinth: Results of the Excavations Conducted by The American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, vol. VI, *Coins. 1896–1929*, by Katharine Edwards, pp. 16–40).

and the legends of Spanish coins (which must be studied in any attempt to understand western Mauretania under the early Empire) suggest that colonies with a Julian or Augustan (and Octavian) foundation in that region indicated their status in their coin legends. Urso in Baetica and Pax Julia in Lusitania are exceptions to this practice, but this may be due to the fact that their coinage was confined to the first years of Augustus' principate. Many municipalities indicate their status in the legends. At the same time towns whose status does not occur in the Latin legends on their coins are usually municipia. Tingi may be likened to these.

Definite evidence for the granting of colonial status to Tingi assigns a foundation to the reign of Claudius. The Elder Pliny in his *Naturalis Historia* (Bk. V, 2) states that Tingi was named Traducta Julia when the Emperor Claudius founded a colony: *Tingi . . . a Claudio Caesare, cum coloniam faceret, appellatum Traducta Iulia.* The statement regarding the renaming of the town has correctly been regarded as an error.[20] This does not mean that Pliny was in error as to the date of the colony. He evidently confused the Spanish town across the straits, Julia Traducta, with Tingi. Such an error could have arisen from the fact that under Augustus a contingent of settlers had been sent from Tingi, along with people from the neighboring town of Zilis and some non-Mauretanian Roman

[20] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. VIII, Pt. 2, p. 854; Kornemann in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, *s.v.* "coloniae," col. 559, no. 354.

citizens to establish Julia Traducta across the straits.[21] Zilis, according to Pliny, was an Augustan colony. There is no assurance that the people forming the other two elements of the settlement were from colonies; nor is there any assurance that people from a colony (Zilis) necessarily founded a town of colonial rank, or that Strabo's account necessarily indicates a colony at Julia Traducta.[22] All parties to the foundation were evidently Roman citizens and founded a town which was permitted a coinage (PERM CAES AVG).[23] Zilis could hardly have been abandoned as a colony in the transfer of citizens to Spain in spite of Strabo's μετῴκισαν. This colony was evidently still in existence in Pliny's day (*N.H.*, V, 2), and the town standing on the site today bears a name (Azila, Arzilla) which is descended from the name of the ancient town.[24] Consequently, the founding of Julia Traducta does not represent a total uprooting of a colony from Mauretania for transfer to Spain. The status of Julia Traducta in Augustan times is therefore an open question. And the evidence for the

[21] Strabo, *Geogr.* (ed. Jones, Loeb Class. Lib.), III, 1, 8 (C. 140). For recent discussions of these towns see L. Chatelain, *Le Maroc des Romains* (Paris, 1944) pp. 33–49, and R. Thouvenot, *Essai sur la province romaine de Bétique* (Paris, 1940) pp. 152, 166–7, and especially 191–2.

[22] *ἦν δὲ καὶ Ζῆλις τῆς Τίγγιος ἀστυγείτων, ἀλλὰ μετῴκισαν ταύτην εἰς τὴν περαίαν Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Τίγγιος προσλαβόντες τινάς· ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἐποίκους, καὶ ὠνόμασαν Ἰουλίαν Ἰοζαν τὴν πόλιν.* The verb "*οἰκίζειν*" and its compounds may refer to "settlements" in general, as well as to colonies in a technical sense.

[23] Heiss, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

[24] Müller, *op. cit.*, III, 154; H. Rackham in Loeb Class. Lib. ed. Pliny's *Natural History*, II (London, 1942), 218, note c.

settlement of Julia Traducta adds no support to any theory that Tingi itself had an Augustan colony.

The absence of Julia Traducta from Pliny's list of towns in Baetica suggests that his sources for Spain did not mention the Augustan establishment of the town. On the evidence of coin types of Julia Traducta, some of which appear to celebrate Augustus' attainment to the office of Pontifex Maximus, while others feature the portraits of his grandsons C. and L. Caesar, Heiss has dated the coins between 12 B.C., the year in which Augustus became Pontifex Maximus, and various years before the deaths of the young Caesars in 2 and 4 A.D. (PLATE V, nos. 13–15).[25] Although the priestly symbols represented on the coins are not only those of the pontificate (the lituus of the augur and the flamen's apex being represented as well as the simpulum), the types may well commemorate the attainment to the office of Pontifex Maximus by Augustus in 12 B.C. If this is so, and if the new town was invested with the right of coinage upon its foundation, the foundation itself can be dated about the year 12 B.C. Now since Agrippa died in 12 B.C., this year is the lowest possible limit of his geographical account of Mauretania and Spain, and in fact of the whole geographical census used so extensively by Pliny. It may not be surprising therefore that Julia Traducta is completely ignored in Pliny's account of Spain (Bk. III). Yet when he wrote about Mauretania Pliny had had access to some information

[25] Heiss, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

on Julia Traducta which led him to connect the name of the town with a colonial foundation at Tingi.[26]

Pliny's obvious error in attaching the name "Traducta Julia" to a Claudian colony at Tingi does not vitiate the character of the rest of his account of the colonies in Mauretania. He names the Augustan colonies with such clarity and emphasis that the exact copying of an Augustan record is suggested. The names of the Augustan colonies are given in full: Julia Constantia Zilis, Julia Campestris Babba, and Julia Valentia Banasa. Babba and Banasa are called *altera* and *tertia* (of Augustus). For some reason not obvious (perhaps because there was no geographical census for the Claudian period available to Pliny), the colonies Pliny attributes to Claudius are not given their full imperial names: they are simply "Tingi," along with the impossible (for Tingi) "Traducta Julia," and "Lixos" or "Lixo" for the town which we call Lix. It therefore appears that Pliny had neither as full nor as authentic a source for the Claudian colonies of western Mauretania, as for the Augustan colonies.[27] When he sums up the whole colonial statistic of western Mauretania, Pliny writes: "There are five colonies in that province, as I have said." There is no inconsistency here. He has named five, three Augustan precisely, and two Claudian less

[26] Presumably Pliny could have learned of the foundation of Julia Traducta through additions to Agrippa's Commentary or through other Augustan sources.

[27] Pliny's dissatisfaction with recent or contemporary sources is reflected in his tirade against the *equites* in this very passage (V, 12).

precisely. Pliny evidently had an authoritative source for Augustan colonies, and he has not included Tingi among Augustan colonies. He has listed it as a Claudian colony, and in doing so has attributed to it the wrong name. Possibly Julia Traducta, too, was a Claudian colony. In any case the tradition (whatever his source) of the founding of Julia Traducta from Tingi appears to have been reversed in Pliny's mind: Julia Traducta gave its name to Tingi instead of Tingi's giving some of its people to Julia Traducta.

I suggest then that the facts about the Augustan towns of Tingi and Julia Traducta were obscured for us in a later period when their early relation was misunderstood — probably by Pliny himself rather than his source. Perhaps both towns received colonies under Claudius, who showed great interest in the development of the towns along the straits, as well as of those in the interior. In any case, Tingi was a Claudian colony and Pliny, misconstruing the records, or not bothering to verify an opinion of his own, contaminated the facts of a Claudian colonization of Tingi with the story of the original settlement under Augustus of Julia Traducta in Spain. If we are correct in our analysis of Pliny's account of western Mauretania, our coins with their simple ethnic IVL TING are not deceiving us as to the status of Tingi, but are struck in accordance with the practice of some municipalities like Julia Traducta and Julia Ebora in Spain.

All of the pieces of Tingi described thus far have been regarded as Augustan. Among the coins of Tingi

in the Newell Collection of the American Numismatic Society there is a pair of bronze coins of identical type that are definitely post-Augustan. They differ from the three other Newell pieces of Tingi with Latin legends (Nos. 1, 2, and 3 above) in having neither local types nor names of local moneyers. But each bears on obverse and reverse a head that is clearly meant to be a portrait. At the same time they show on one side the letters IVL TIN, indicating that our town is the place that minted them. The portrait heads and the legends are crude in workmanship, but the latter leave no doubt as to the identification of the former. We describe the specimens below:

8. *Obv*. Head of Nero Caesar to r. In front, around rim, NERO IVL Behind head, TIN Border of dots.

Rev. Head of Drusus Caesar to l. In front, around rim, DR[VS] Behind, VS Border of dots.
26 mm. 15.62 grams

ANS (ETN) PLATE III, no. 8

9. Similar to no. 8.
Rev. DRV[S] VS
25 mm. 10.02 grams

ANS (ETN) PLATE III, no. 9

It is clear that the portraits on the coins are meant to be those of Nero Caesar and Drusus Caesar, the grand nephews of the Emperor Tiberius and sons of Germanicus. They were prospective heirs to the principate from 23 A.D. to 29 A.D. after the death of Ti-

berius' own son Drusus put an end to speculation on this point.[28] Though both portraits are crudely wrought, the head of Nero is the more impressive of the two. Nero was the elder. It is his side of the coin on which the town placed its name.

That the mint of Tingi struck coins bearing the portraits of the young princes who were, in the early days of the principate, instruments of the bitter and tragic feud manipulated by Sejanus for the succession to the imperial power is interesting from several points of view. For one thing, it is possible to date any coinage struck in their honor very closely. Tiberius presented them to the Senate after the death of his own son Drusus in 23 A.D.;[29] and their downfall through the ambitions and machinations of the praetorian prefect Sejanus can be dated from 29 A.D., when Nero was exiled with his mother, the elder Agrippina. Nero died in 31 and Drusus in 33 A.D.[30] We can assume therefore that such honors as they received in the provinces as well as at Rome are to be dated in the years immediately following 23 A.D., unless indeed the coinage here described was struck after their deaths.[31] It is almost certain that these

[28] Tacitus, *Annals*, III, 49; IV, 8; IV, 10; IV, 12: "non dubia successio"; IV, 59: "Neronem proximum successioni."

[29] Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 54.

[30] Tacitus, *Annals*, VI, 23; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 54; 61; cf. *Gaius*, 7.

[31] Posthumous coinage could have been struck for them only in the reign of Caligula, their younger brother, who honored them on his coinage at Rome, but apparently did not include them in the posthumous coinage of his family (Agrippa, Germanicus, and Agrippina)

pieces were struck during their lifetime. Similar honors were paid to them at Utica in Africa and at Carthago Nova and Caesaraugusta in Spain (PLATE IV, nos. 10–12).[32] It is not surprising that Spain and Africa were provinces which paid special honor to Nero and Drusus through local coinage. There was a close relation between the coinages of southern Spain and western Mauretania, as even a cursory examination of their types reveals.[33]

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at Caesaraugusta in Spain (Hill, *Hispania Citerior*, pp. 94-95 and Pl. XVIII) where they were honorary duoviri during their lifetimes (Hill, p. 92 and Pl. XVI, 2).

[32] Müller, *op. cit.*, II, 161, nos. 362–366; Heiss, *op. cit.*, p. 271, nos. 28–29 (Pl. XXXVI); Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 91–92 (Pl. XVI, nos. 1 and 2). Hispalis in Baetica struck coins with the portraits of Nero and Drusus (Heiss, *op. cit.*, p. 394), but, as at Tingi, there is no indication that they held honorary office.

[33] On Mauretanian money found in Spain see Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 144 and 155; on Spanish money in Africa, P. Monceau, *Grecs et Maures d'après les monnaies grecques du Musée d'Alger*, extrait du *Bulletin de Corresp. Africaine*, 1884, nos. V–VI, pp. 13–15. Under the early empire Juba II and his son Ptolemaeus, kings of Mauretania, were celebrated as honorary duoviri on coins attributed to Carthago Nova (Heiss, *op. cit.*, p. 269; Charrier, *op. cit.*, p. 119, no. 261; Pl. XVII, no. 260; p. 138, nos. 325–327; Pl. XX; cf. Monceau, *op. cit.*, p. 14). For the strategic importance of Mauretania in relation to Spain see St. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, VIII (Paris, 1928), pp. 159 and 286, and R. Cagnat, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique*, I (Paris, 1912), pp. 253–254; see also Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, *s.v.* "Mauretania," cols. 2368–2369. During the Roman Republic and the civil wars of the first century B.C. armies and partisans went back and forth between Spain and Mauretania. At least one town under Augustus was attached to Baetica (Pliny, V, 2: Zilis; unless the reference is merely to the transfer of people from Zilis to Spain as the town Iulia Traducta), and in the short reign of Otho the Maurorum civitates were made part of the province of Baetica (Tacitus, *Hist.*, I, 78). There

Before the time of Nero and Drusus Caesar, Carteia and Acci in Baetica had struck coins celebrating Germanicus, their father, and Drusus, the son of Tiberius, as honorary quattuorviri in the one case, and duoviri in the other.[34] Since Nero and Drusus were themselves celebrated on the coinage of Caesaraugusta as duoviri, and at Carthago Nova as duoviri quinquennales, and received a similar honor at Utica in Africa,[35] we may assume that the appearance of their names and portraits on the coins of Tingi implies that here, too, they held honorary office, namely, that of quattuorviri. At Caesaraugusta two sets of types were struck in their honor, but only one type bears the honorary title of duoviri (PLATE IV, nos. 11, 12).[36] The absence of a title on the coins of Tingi, then, does not necessarily mean that they held no title to local office. Inscriptions of their prefects in Italy bear witness to their having held the duoviral office throughout the peninsula (Aquinum, Cures, Praeneste, Bononia, Formiae, Brixia, Hasta, and possibly Aquae Flaviae).[37] While Tiberius' son Drusus

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are clear indications that in the third century A.D. Mauretania Tingitana was a part of Baetica (Rufus Festus, c. 5: "trans fretum etiam in solo terrae Africae provincia Hispanarum est, quae Tingitana Mauretania cognominatur"; *CIL*, VIII, 21813.

[34] Heiss, *op. cit.*, p. 332, no. 29 (Pl. XLIX): Carteia (no portraits); p. 257, no. 12 (Pl. XXXIII): Acci (portraits).

[35] For the references see note 32.

[36] Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 92 (Pl. XVI, 2). There is no indication of honorary office on a coin of Hispalis bearing the portraits of Nero and Drusus (see note 32).

[37] W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung in römischen Kaiserreiche*, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 261–263, note 4.

was still alive, the same man at Aquinum was prefect of Nero Caesar as well as of the Emperor for the second time and his son Drusus for the third time. Baetica has been called a little of Italy in Spain; and likewise it may be said that western Mauretania in Roman times was a portion of Baetica in Africa. Consequently, we may expect similar municipal customs in the Roman towns. But if Nero and Drusus Caesar held the quattuorvirate at Tingi, their prefects withheld their own names from the coinage.

The great lack of numismatic and epigraphical evidence from western Africa encourages speculation. Spanish coins show that Gaius, the later Emperor Caligula, like his elder brothers Nero and Drusus, received the honorary duovirate at both Caesaraugusta and Carthago Nova. One may wonder whether coins of Tingi honoring Gaius before his accession will some day come to light. Such coins would be of interest as bearing the portrait of the prince who, as Emperor, destroyed the King and Kingdom of Mauretania, paving the way for the complete incorporation of this land into the Roman Empire, under Claudius, his uncle and successor.

While this article was in press Michael Grant's comprehensive study of the bronze coinage reached me (*From Imperium to Auctoritas. A Historical Study of Aes Coinage in the Roman Empire, 49 B.C.–A.D. 14.* Cambridge Univ. Press, 1946). For additional evidence on coins similar to nos. 2, 3, 6 and 7 above and a different system of dating see pp. 177–

178 of this book. Here a few comments may be made on a number of points bearing particularly on coins known previously only through drawings.

Grant has presented evidence from a Copenhagen specimen (Pl. VI, no. 11) which suggests that the coinage of Allienus (no. 6 above) belonged to the local series. A fragmentary portion of the reverse legend may indicate that Allienus was a duovir. If Allienus can definitely be placed among the local moneyers, and if the peculiar features of no. 7 (see p. 12 above) are significant as they must be, it is possible to make further remarks on the relative position of the coins within the group, adding to and modifying what has been said above.

1) No. 7 is closer than any of the coins with Latin legends to the pre-Latin coins of Tingi because of these features: Baal head in profile, crescent and dot symbol. "MAIOR" seems to me to go with "TING" rather than to be a man's name. Was TING. MAIOR an earlier phase of IVL. TING., or was it a different community?

2) Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 6 belong together, no. 1 being perhaps contemporary with 2 and 3, and 6 following closely upon all three. I doubt very much whether no. 1 is to be separated from 2 and 3 by no. 7 (see comment above), as Grant (p. 177) has done, or that the difference between the number of signing officials on nos. 2 and 3 as against no. 1 means more than the signing of the larger denomination by the two higher officials of the college, while all members shared the smaller denomination.

3) Nos. 4, 5, and 6 were struck during or after 27 B.C. because 4 and 6 bear the name of Augustus (conferred in 27), and 5 must be contemporary with 4.

4) Nos. 4 and 5 are difficult to place because they are bilingual; they may be earlier than the coins signed by local officials, since the tendency was for the native language to yield to the Latin (as in Spain), but they may break into the group of local officials, separating 1, 2, and 3 from 6, for some reason of constitutional significance belonging to the era after 27 B.C. when Agrippa was active reorganizing towns in Spain.

5) Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are so close in types and style to 6 that they, too, may be after 27 B.C.

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PLATES

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